













THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
HERODOTUS,  
TRANSLATED  
FROM  
THE GREEK.  
WITH NOTES.

BY  
THE REVEREND WILLIAM BELOE.  
IN FOUR VOLUMES

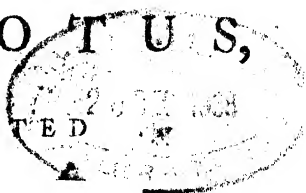
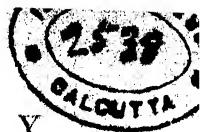
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VOL. III.

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# XI C 4



HERODOTUS.

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BOOK VI.

ERATO.

CHAP. I.



UCH was the fate of Aristagoras, the instigator of the Ionian revolt.—Histiaëus of Miletus, as soon as Darius had acquiesced in his departure from Susa, proceeded to Sardis. On his arrival, Artaphernes the governor asked him what he thought could possibly have induced the Ionians to revolt? He expressed himself ignorant of the cause, and astonished at the event. Artaphernes, however, who had been informed of his preceding artifice, and was sensible of his present dissimulation, observed to him that the matter might be thus explained: “You,” says he, “made the shoe<sup>\*</sup> which Aristagoras has worn.”

II. Histiaëus

<sup>\*</sup> *Made the shoe.*]—I have given a literal translation from the  
VOL. III. B Greek;

## E R A T O.

II. Histiaëus perceiving himself suspected, fled the very first night towards the sea: and instead of fulfilling his engagements with Darius, to whose power he had promised to reduce the great island of Sardinia, assumed the command of the Ionian forces against him. Passing over into Chios, he was seized and thrown into chains by the inhabitants, who accused him of coming from the king with some design against their state. When they had heard the truth, and were convinced that he was really an enemy to Darius, they released him.

III. Histiaëus was afterwards interrogated by the Ionians, why he had so precipitately impelled Arist-

Greek; but M. Larcher, thinking perhaps the expression somewhat inclining to vulgarity, has rendered it thus, "You contrived the plot which he has executed." Not very unlike this phrase used by the Persian to Aristagoras, is our English one of standing in another person's shoes; which perhaps may be traced to times more remote than may at first be imagined. Aristophanes in his *Equites* has this expression:

*Ουκ, ἀλλ' ὅπερ πίνων ἀνὴρ πεπονθ' ὅταν χέσῃ*

*Τοῖσι τροποῖς τοῖς σοῖσις ὡς περ βλαυντοῖσι χρωμαί.*

When the Greeks reclined upon their couches at meals and entertainments, they pulled off their sandals; if any one on any occasion wanted to leave the apartment, he put them on again. Therefore, says the poet, I do that with respect to your manners, as a man does at an entertainment, who, wanting to go out of the room, uses another person's sandals. It would by no means be an uninteresting work, to trace the meaning of our proverbial expressions to their remotest application: for my own part I am well convinced, that more of them might be discovered in the customs and languages of Greece and Rome, than an English antiquary would at first perhaps be willing to allow.—T.

tagoras,

tagoras to revolt, a circumstance which had occasioned the loss of so many of their countrymen. His answer was insidious, and calculated to impress the Ionians with alarm; he told them what really was not the fact, that his conduct had been prompted by the avowed intentions of Darius to remove the Phœnicians <sup>2</sup> to Ionia, the Ionians to Phœnicia.

IV. His next measure was to send letters to certain Persians at Sardis, with whom he had previously communicated on the subject of a revolt; these he entrusted to Hermippus, a native of Atarnis, who abused the confidence reposed in him, by delivering the letters into the hands of Artaphernes. The governor, after acquainting himself with their contents, desired Hermippus to deliver them according to their first directions, and then to give to him the answers intended for Histæus. In consequence of the intelligence which he by these means obtained, Artaphernes put a great number of Persians to death.

V. A tumult was thus excited at Sardis; but Histæus failing in this project, prevailed on the

<sup>2</sup> *To remove the Phœnicians, &c.*—[It was the easier to make the Ionians credit this assertion, because such kind of transigrations were frequent amongst the Assyrians and Persians. It is well known that the Jews were removed to Babylon and Media, and Hyrcanians were to be found in Asia Minor: it would indeed be endless to enumerate all the transigrations which were made by the command of those people.—*Larcher*. We have already seen a great part of the Pæonians of Thrace removed into Asia by order of Darius. See book v. ch. 15.—*T.*



Chians to carry him back to Miletus. The Milesians, delighted with the removal of Aristagoras, had already tasted the sweets of liberty, and were little inclined to give admission to a second master. Histiaëus attempting to effect a landing at Miletus in the night, was by some unknown hand wounded in the thigh: rejected by his country, he again set sail for Chios, whence, as the inhabitants refused to entrust him with their fleet, he passed over to Mitylene\*. Having from the Lesbians obtained the command of eight triremes properly equipped, he proceeded to Byzantium. Here he took his station, and intercepted all the vessels coming from the Euxine, except those which consented to obey him.

VI. Whilst Histiaëus, with the aid of the people of Mitylene, was acting thus, Miletus itself was threatened with a most formidable attack, both by sea and land. The Persian generals had collected all their forces into one body, and making but little account of the other cities, advanced towards Miletus. Of those who assisted them by sea, the Phœnicians were the most alert; with these served the Cyprians, who had been recently subdued, as well as the Cilicians and Ægyptians.

VII. When the Ionians received intelligence of this armament, which not only menaced Miletus, but the rest of Ionia, they sent delegates to the Panio-

\* *Mitylene.*]—In the first book, chap. 160. it is written *Mytilene*: the difference is in the original.

nium<sup>3</sup>. The result of their deliberations was, that they should by no means meet the Persians by land; that the people of Miletus should vigorously defend their city; and that the allies should provide and equip every vessel in their power; that as soon as their fleet should be in readiness they should meet at Lade<sup>4</sup>, and risque a battle in favour of Miletus. Lade is a small island immediately opposite to Miletus.

VIII. The Ionians completed their fleet, and assembled at the place appointed; they were reinforced by the collective power of the Æolians of Lesbos, and prepared for an engagement in the following order. The Milesians furnished eighty vessels, which occupied the east wing; next to these were the Prienians, with twelve, and the Myusians with three ships; contiguous were the Chians in one hundred vessels, and the Teians in

<sup>3</sup> *Panionium*.]—See chap. 148. of book the first.—In my note upon this word, I omitted to mention, that the Panionium probably suggested to Milton the idea of his Pandemonium.—

Meanwhile the winged heralds by command  
Of sovran power, with awful ceremony  
And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclaim  
A solemn council forthwith to be held  
At PANDEMONIUM, the high capital  
Of Satan and his peers.

T.

<sup>4</sup> *Lade*.]—Pausanias informs us that this island was divided into two, one of which parts was called Asterius, from Asterius the son of Anactes.—See book i. chap. 25,—T.

seventeen : beyond these were the Erythreans and Phocæans, the former with eight, the latter with three ships. The Lesbians in seventy ships were next to the Phocæans ; in the extremity of the line, to the west, the Samians were posted in sixty ships : the whole fleet was composed of three hundred and fifty-three triremes.

IX. The Barbarians were possessed of six hundred vessels : as soon as they came before Miletus, and their land forces also were arrived, the Persian commanders were greatly alarmed by the intelligence they received of their adversaries force ; they began to apprehend that their inferiority by sea might at the same time prevent their capture of Miletus, and expose them to the resentment of Darius. With these sentiments, they called together those Ionian princes who, being deposed by Aristagoras, had taken refuge amongst the Medes, and were present on this expedition.—They addressed them to this effect : “ Men of Ionia, let each of  
“ you now shew his zeal in the royal cause, by  
“ endeavouring to detach from this confederacy his  
“ own countrymen : allure them by the promise  
“ that no punishment shall be the consequence of  
“ their revolt ; that neither their temples nor other  
“ edifices shall be burned ; that their treatment shall  
“ not in any respect be more violent than before.  
“ If they persevere in trusting to the event of a  
“ battle, tell them that the contrary of all these  
“ will assuredly happen ;—themselves shall be hur-  
“ ried

“ ried into servitude, their youths castrated<sup>5</sup>, their  
 “ daughters carried to Baëtra<sup>6</sup>, and their country  
 “ given to others.”

<sup>5</sup> *Youths castrated.*]—We learn that castration was in a very early period of society inflicted as a punishment for various crimes. Diodorus Siculus, book i. chap. 78, speaking of the Egyptians, has this passage:

“ The laws with respect to women were remarkably severe: if a man committed a rape upon a free woman, he had his private parts cut off; they were of opinion, that this one crime included three others of a heinous nature—injustice, defilement (*καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν συγχύσις*) and confusion with respect to children.”

Castration in many countries was the punishment of adultery; and by an edict of Justinian it was inflicted also on sodomites. Hume, in his History of England, gives the following extraordinary act of cruelty from Fitzstephen, which was perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry the Second.

“ When he was master of Normandy, the chapter of Seez presumed, without his consent, to proceed to the election of a bishop; upon which he ordered all of them, with the bishop elect, to be castrated, and made all their testicles be brought him in a platter.”

Mr. Gibbon, relating this anecdote, subjoins, in his usual farcastic style, “ Of the pain and danger they might justly complain; yet, since they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of a superfluous treasure.”—*T.*

<sup>6</sup> *Baëtra.*]—This place, though mentioned by Strabo and other ancient writers, as of great importance, and the capital of a province remarkable for its fertility, is now either entirely unknown, or a very insignificant place. Some are of opinion that its modern name is Termend; d’Anville thinks it is the city Balck.—Baëtra is thus mentioned by Virgil:

Sed neque Medorum sylvæ ditissima terra,  
 Nec pulcher Ganges, atque auro turbidus Hermus  
 Laudibus Italici certent; non Baëtra, neque Indi  
 Totaque thuriferis Panchaia pinguis arena. *T.*

X. Under cover of the night the Ionian princes were dispatched with the above resolutions to their respective countrymen. The Ionians, who were thus addressed, refused to betray the common cause, believing these propositions made to themselves alone.—Such were the incidents which happened on the arrival of the Persians before Miletus.

XI. The Ionians assembled at Lade, as had been appointed, and amongst the various opinions which were delivered in council, Dionysius the Phocæan leader expressed himself as follows :—“ Our affairs  
“ are come to that delicate point<sup>7</sup>, O Ionians, that  
“ we

<sup>7</sup> *Delicate point.*]—Literally, “ are upon the point of a razor.” This passage is quoted by Longinus, sect. 22. as a happy ample of the hyperbaton, which he explains to be a transposition of words or sentiments out of the natural order of discourse, and implying extreme violence of passion.

The word *hyperbaton* is derived from *υπερ* beyond, and *βαινω* to go; and Pearce, in his notes upon Longinus, gives two examples of the use of this figure from Virgil :

Moriamur—et in media arma ruamus. *Æn.* ii. 348.

Me, me, adsum qui feci in me convertite ferrum.  
*Æn.* ix. 427.

Livy also has an expression similar to this of Herodotus :—  
“ Jam enim sub ictu teli erant et undique instabant hostes.”

Kraſmus, in his *Adagia*, gives us three examples of this proverbial expression, from Homer, Sophocles, and Theocritus. That of Homer is in the tenth book of the *Iliad*, where Nestor says :

Νυν γὰρ δὲ παντεσσιν ἐπὶ ζυγῇ ἴσεται ἀκμῆς  
Ἡ μάλα λυγρὸς ὀλεθρὸς Ἀχαιοῖς ἦε βίωται.

Which

“ we must either be free men or slaves, and even  
 “ fugitive slaves. If you willingly submit to the  
 “ trouble, your situation will at first be painful, but  
 “ having vanquished your enemies, you will then  
 “ enjoy your liberties; if you suffer your vigour to  
 “ relax, or disorder to take place amongst you, I  
 “ see no means of your evading the indignation  
 “ with which the Persian king will punish your  
 “ revolt. Submit yourselves to my direction, and  
 “ I will engage, if the gods be but impartial, that  
 “ either the enemy shall not attack you at all, or,  
 “ if they do, it shall be greatly to their own detri-  
 “ ment.”

XII. In consequence of this speech, the Ionians resigned themselves to the will of Dionysius. Every day he drew out the whole fleet in order of battle, leaving a proper interval for the use of the oars: he then taught them to manœuvre<sup>\*</sup> their ships, keep-

Which Pope has rendered thus, diffusely indeed, but with peculiar force and beauty, except in the second line, which is rather flat:

But now the last despair surrounds our host,  
 No hour must pass, no moment must be lost;  
 Each single Greek in this conclusive strife  
 Stands on *the sharpest edge* of death or life. T.

<sup>\*</sup> *To manœuvrer.*]—Διεκπλοον ποιευμενος.—This passage Larcher renders thus: “ He made them pass betwixt the ranks, and quickly retreat.” Ernestus understands the expression differently; it is certainly a nautical term, I have therefore preferred the interpretation which I think the words will admit, and which will certainly be more intelligible and satisfactory to the English reader.—T.

ing the men at their arms: the rest of the day the ships lay on their anchors<sup>9</sup>. Without being suffered to receive any relaxation from this discipline, the Ionians till the seventh day punctually obeyed his commands; on the eighth, unused to such fatigue, impatient of its continuance, and oppressed by the heat, they began to murmur:—"We must

<sup>9</sup> *On their anchors.*]—The Greeks used to draw up their vessels along shore whilst they themselves were on land. When the centinels perceived the enemy's fleet, they made signals, and their troops immediately came on board. The Ionians, whom their leader would not suffer to come on shore, found the service very laborious; and as they were not accustomed to military discipline, it is not surprising that they considered this as a species of servitude which they were impatient to break.—*Larcher.*

The first anchors were probably nothing more than large stones, and we know that they sometimes used for this purpose bags of sand, which might answer well enough for vessels of small burden in a light and sandy bottom. Travellers to the East make mention of wooden anchors; and there belonged to the large ship made for king Hiero eight anchors of iron and four of wood. The Phœnicians used lead for some part of their anchors; for in a voyage which they made to Sicily, Diodorus Siculus says, they found silver in such great abundance, that they took the lead out of their anchors, and put silver in its place.

More anciently, the anchor had only one fluke or arm; the addition of a second has been ascribed to Anacharsis the Scythian.

Our vessels carry their anchors at the prow; but it should seem, from Acts xxvii. verse 29. that the ancients carried theirs at the stern.

"Then fearing lest they should have fallen upon rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day."  
—T.

"surely,"

“surely,” they exclaimed one to another “have  
 “offended some deity, to be exposed to these hard-  
 “ships; or we must be both absurd and pusillani-  
 “mous, to suffer this insolent Phocæan, master of  
 “but three vessels, to treat us as he pleases. Hav-  
 “ing us in his power, he has afflicted us with va-  
 “rious evils. Many of us are already weakened  
 “by sickness, and more of us likely to become so.  
 “Better were it for us to endure any calamities  
 “than these, and submit to servitude, if it must be  
 “so, than bear our present oppressions. Let us  
 “obey him no longer.” The discontent spread,  
 and all subordination ceased; they disembarked,  
 fixed their tents in Lade, and keeping themselves  
 under the shade <sup>40</sup>, would neither go on board, nor  
 repeat their military exercises.

## XIII.

<sup>40</sup> *Under the shade.*]—This expression may seem to border a little on the ridiculous, till it is remembered that in all oriental climates both travellers and natives place their greatest delight in sleeping and taking their repasts under shade.

From this circumstance the author of *Observations on Passages of Scripture* has taken occasion to explain an expression in Homer, which has greatly perplexed the commentators. It is in the soliloquy of Hector, who deliberating whether he shall meet his adversary unarmed, says amongst other things:

Οὐ μὲν πῶς σὺν εἶμι ἀπὸ δένδρος ἢ ἀπὸ πέτρης

Τῷ ἀντιζήμεναι.

Il. xxii. 126.

Pope omits the word *πέτρης* altogether, and renders it thus:

We greet not here, as man conversing man  
*Met at an oak, or journeying o'er a plain.*

That



XIII. The Samian leaders, observing what passed amongst the Ionians, were more inclined to listen to the solicitations of the Persians to withdraw from the confederacy: these solicitations were communicated to them by *Æaces*, the son of *Syloson*; and the increasing disorder which prevailed so obviously amongst the Ionians added to their weight. They moreover reflected that there was little probability of finally defeating the power of the Persian monarch, sensible that if the present naval armament of *Darius* were dispersed, a second, five times as formidable, would soon be at hand. Availing themselves therefore of the first refusal of the Ionians to perform their customary duty, they thought this no improper opportunity of securing their private and sacred buildings. *Æaces*, to whose remonstrance the Samians listened, was son of *Syloson*, and grandson of *Æaces*: he had formerly enjoyed the supreme authority of *Samos*, but with the other Ionian princes, had been driven from his station by *Aristagoras*.

XIV. Not long afterwards the Phœnicians advanced, and were met by the Ionians, with their fleet drawn up with a contracted front. A battle ensued, but who amongst the Ionians on this occasion disgraced themselves by their cowardice, or

That is, if the above interpretation be admissible, "We do not meet here like men, who to take their repast, or shun the heat, accidentally and peaceably meet under the shade of an oak." To many this may appear far-fetched and forced; but the explanation of *Eustathius* is perhaps not less so.—*T.*

signalized

signalized themselves by their valour, I am unable to ascertain; for they reciprocally censure each other. It is said that the Samians, as they had previously concerted with Ææces, left their place in the line, and set sail for Samos. We must except eleven vessels, whose officers, refusing to obey their superiors in command, remained and fought. To commemorate this act of valour, the general council of the Samians ordained that the names of these men, and of their ancestors, should be inscribed on a public column<sup>11</sup>, which is still to be seen in their forum. The Lesbians, seeing what was done by the Samians, next whom they were stationed, followed their example, as did the greater number of the Ionians.

XV. Of those who remained, the Chians suffered the most, as well from the efforts which they made, as from their wish not to act dishonourably. They had strengthened the confederacy, as I have before observed, by a fleet of an hundred vessels, each manned with four hundred chosen warriors.

<sup>11</sup> *Public column.*]—Various were the uses for which pillars or columns were erected in the earlier ages of antiquity. In the second book of Herodotus, we read that Sesostris erected pillars as military trophies in the countries which he conquered. In the book of Pausanias de Eliacis we find them inscribed with the particulars of the public treaties and alliances. There were some placed round the temple of Æsculapius at Corinth, upon which the names of various diseases were written, with their several remedies. They were also frequently used as monuments for the dead.—T.

They observed the treachery of many of the allies, but disdained to imitate their example. With the few of their friends which remained, they repeatedly broke the enemy's line; till, after taking a great number of vessels, and losing many of their own, they retired to their own island.

XVI. Their disabled ships being pursued, they retreated to Mycale. The crews here ran their vessels on shore, and leaving them, marched on foot over the continent. Entering the Ephesian territories, they approached the city in the evening, when the women were celebrating the mysteries of Ceres<sup>12</sup>. The Ephesians had heard nothing concerning them, and seeing a number of armed men in their territories, they suspected them to be robbers, who had violent designs upon their women. They assembled therefore to repel the supposed in-

<sup>12</sup> *Mysteries of Ceres.*]—The same jealousy which prevailed in Greece with respect to the intrusion of men at the celebration of the Thesmophoria, was afterwards imitated at Rome in the rites of the Bona Dea. Witness the abhorrence in which the criminality of Clodius in this instance was held by the more respectable part of his countrymen, and the very strong language applied against him by Cicero. This peculiarity is introduced with much humour and effect by Lucian, where speaking of two men, one remarkable for his attachment to boys, and another to women; “the house of the one,” says he, “was crowded with beardless youths, of the other with dancing and singing women;” indeed (ὡς ἐν Θεισμοφορίῳ) as in the Thesmophoria there was not a male to be seen, except perhaps an infant, or an old cook too far advanced in years to excite jealousy.—See the edition of Hemsterhusius, vol. ii. 407.—T.

vaders, and killed them all on the spot. Such was the end of these Chians.

XVII. Dionysius the Phocæan, perceiving the Ionian power effectually broken, retreated, after taking three of the enemy's ships. He did not however go to Phocæa, as he well knew that must share the common fate of Ionia, but he directed his course immediately to Phœnicia. He here made himself master of many vessels richly laden, and a considerable quantity of silver, with which he sailed to Sicily: here he exercised a piratical life, committing many depredations on the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but not molesting the Greeks.

XVIII. The Persians having thus routed the Ionians, laid close siege to Miletus, both by sea and land. They not only undermined the walls, but applied every species of military machines against it. In the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras, they took and plundered the place. By this calamity the former prediction of the oracle was finally accomplished.

XIX. The Argives, having consulted the oracle of Delphi relative to the future fate of their city, received an answer which referred to themselves in part, but which also involved the fortune of the Milesians. Of what concerned the Argives, I shall make mention when I come to speak of that people; what related to the absent Milesians, was conceived in these terms:—

Thou then, Miletus, vers'd in ill too long,  
 Shalt be the prey and plunder of the strong;  
 Your wives shall stoop to wash a long-hair'd<sup>13</sup>  
 train,

And others guard our Didymæan fane.

Thus, as we have described, was the prediction accomplished. The greater part of the Milesians were slain by the Persians, who wear their hair long; their wives and children were carried into slavery; the temple at Didymus<sup>14</sup>, and the shrine near the oracle, was consumed by fire. Of the riches

<sup>13</sup> *Long-hair'd.*]—From hence we may infer that it was not peculiar to the Greeks to use female attendants for the offices of the bath. The passages in Homer which describe the particulars of a custom so contradictory to modern delicacy and refinement, are too numerous to be specified, and indeed too familiar to be repeated here. I find the following passage in Athenæus, which being less notorious, I insert for the gratification of the English reader.

“Homer also makes virgins and women wash strangers, which they did without exciting desire, or being exposed to intemperate passion, being well regulated themselves, and touching those who were virtuous also: such was the custom of antiquity, according to which the daughters of Cocalus washed Minos, who had passed over into Sicily.”—See *Athenæus*, i. 8. —*T.*

<sup>14</sup> *Didymus.*]—This place was in the territories of Miletus, and celebrated for the temple of the Didymæan Apollo. Why Apollo was so named, is thus explained by Macrobius.

“*Ἀπολλωνία Διδυμαίων* vocant quod geminam speciem sui nominis præfert ipse illuminandō, formandoque lunam. Etenim ex uno fonte lucis gemino sidere spatia diei et noctis illustrat, unde et Romani solem sub nomine et specie Jani, Didymæi Apollinis appellatione venerantur.”

This

riches of this temple I have elsewhere and frequently spoken.

XX. The Milesians who survived the slaughter were carried to Sufa. Darius treated them with great humanity, and no farther punished them than by removing them to Ampe<sup>15</sup>, a city near that part of the Erythræan sea where it receives the waters of the Tigris. The low country surrounding the town of Miletus the Persians reserved for themselves; but they gave the mountainous parts to the Carians of Pedasus<sup>16</sup>.

XXI. The Milesians, on suffering these calamities from the Persians, did not meet with the return from the people of Sybaris who had been

This temple was more anciently denominated the temple of Branchidæ, the oracle of which I have before described.

As this title was given Apollo from the circumstance of the sun and moon enlightening the world alternately by day and night, it may not be improper to insert in this place an ænigma on the day and night :

Εἰς κασιγνητὰς δίδται ὡν ἡ μία τίκτει  
τὴν ἑτέραν· αὐτὴ δὲ τέκῃσα καλὴν ὑπο ταύτης  
τίκνεται.

These lines are preserved in Athenæus, from a tragedy of Œdipus, their literal interpretation is this:—

“ There are two sisters, one of which produces the other, and that which produces is in its turn produced by the other.”—*T*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ampe*.]—See what Bryant says on the terms Ampelus or Ampe, vol. i. 275-6.—*T*.

<sup>16</sup> *Pedasus*.]—This was also the name of one of the horses of Achilles.—See *Homer*, *Il.* xvi.—*T*.

driven from Laon and Scidron, which they might justly have expected. When Sybaris was taken by the Crotoniati, the Milesians had shaved their heads<sup>17</sup>, and discovered every testimony of sorrow; for betwixt these two cities a most strict and uncommon hospitality<sup>18</sup> prevailed. The Athenians acted

<sup>17</sup> *Shaved their heads.*—Consult Deuteronomy, chap. xxi. verse 13, from whence it seems that to shave the head was one instance of exhibiting sorrow amongst the ancient Jews.—*T.*

<sup>18</sup> *Hospitality.*—As there is nothing in the manners of modern times which at all resembles the ancient customs respecting *hospitality*, it may be pleasing to many readers to find the most remarkable particulars of them collected in this place.

The barbarous disposition, to consider all strangers as enemies, gave way to the very first efforts towards civilization; and, as early as the time of Homer, provision was made for the reception of travellers into those families with which they were connected by the ties of hospitality. This connection was esteemed sacred, and was under the particular sanction of the hospitable Jupiter, *Zeus Xenius*. The same word *Xenos*, which had originally denoted a barbarian and an enemy (*Herodotus*, ix. ch. 11.) then became the term to express either a host, or his guest. When persons were united by the tie of hospitality, each was *Xenos* to the other, though, when they were together, he who received the other was properly distinguished as the *Xenodocus* (*Ξενόδοκος*.) In the *Alceſtis* of Euripides, l. 546, and in Plato, we find mention of a *Xenon* (*Ξενον*) or an apartment appropriated to the reception of such visitors. The bond of hospitality might subsist, 1. between private individuals; 2. between private persons and states; 3. between different states. Private hospitality was called *Xenia*; public, *Proxenia*. Persons who, like Glaucus and Diomedes, ratified their hospitality in war, were called *Doryxeni* (*Δορυξῆνοι*.) See *Hom. Il.* vi. 215, &c.—This connection was in all cases hereditary, and was confirmed by gifts mutually interchanged, which at first were called symbols, (*Eurip. Medea*, 613); afterwards,

acted very differently. The destruction of Miletus affected them with the liveliest uneasiness, which was apparent from various circumstances, and from the following in particular:—On seeing the capture of Miletus represented in a dramatic piece by Phrynichus<sup>19</sup>, the whole audience burst into tears. The poet,

wards, when reduced to a kind of tickets, instead of presents, *παραγὰλοι* or *tesseræ*. *Plaut. Pæn.* act. v. sc. 2.—Every thing gave way to this connection: Admetus could not bear the thought of turning away his *Xenos*, Hercules, even when his wife was just dead; and is highly praised for it. *Eurip. Alcest.*—Hospitality might however be renounced by a solemn form of abjuration, and yet after that might be renewed by a descendant. Thus, between the city of Sparta and the family of Alcibiades, a public hospitality had subsisted; his grandfather had solemnly renounced it, but he by acts of kindness revived it again. See *Thucyd.* v. 43; vi. 89.—This circumstance of renunciation has not been noticed, so far as I have seen, by any modern writers. See *Feitbius Antiq. Hæmericæ*, iii. 12, 13. *Potter*, iv. 21.—Some of the ancient *tesseræ* have been dug up at Rome and elsewhere. See *Thomassinus de Tesseris Hospitalitatis*.—The rights of suppliants were similar to, and near connected with, those of hospitality.

So Homer,

Οὐ μοι θεμὶς ἐστ', εὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν εἰθόι,  
 Ξείνων ἀτιμῆσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Δίος εἰσὶν ἅπαντες  
 Ξείνοι τε πῶλοί τε. *Odyss.* xiv. 56.

'The swain reply'd, It never was our guise  
 To slight the poor, or aught humane despise;  
 For Jove unfolds our hospitable door,  
 'Tis Jove that sends the stranger and the poor. *Pope.*  
 7.

<sup>19</sup> *Phrynichus*.]—There were three dramatic authors of this name, not far distant from each other in time. The first, a tragic poet, the son of Polyphradmon; the second, a writer of



poet, for thus reminding them of a domestic calamity, was fined a thousand drachmæ, and the piece was forbidden to be repeated.

XXII. Thus was Miletus stripped of its ancient inhabitants. The Samians, to whom any part of their property remained, were far from satisfied with the conduct of their leaders in the contest with the Medes. After the event of the above naval fight, and previous to the return of Æaces, they determined to remove, and found a colony, not choosing to expose themselves to the complicated tyranny of the Medes and of Æaces. About this period the Zancleans of Sicily sent a deputation to invite the Ionians to Calacte<sup>20</sup>, wishing to found there an  
 Ionian

comedy; the third, a tragic poet, the son of Melanthus. Suidas, who mentions all these particulars, yet ascribes the tragedy of the taking of Miletus neither to the first nor to the third. But in all probability it was the first and not the third whom Herodotus, and the numerous historians who copy him, mean to point out. The time in which he flourished (for Suidas informs us that he gained his first victory in the sixty-seventh Olympiad) makes this supposition the nearer to truth. Among the different plays attributed to our author, is one called either Πλευρων, or Πλευρωνία, or Πλευρώνιας. Fabricius and D'Orville are in great perplexity upon this weighty point, which might easily have been decided, if they had seen (as they ought to have seen) that instead of ἐν δράματι ἰδιόξει Πλευρῶνι. Εἰς κρυερὸν, &c. it ought to be read, Πλευρωνίας· Κρυερὸν, &c. which emendation every reader who consults the passage will find to be necessary both for the sense and syntax.—T.

<sup>20</sup> Calacte.]—Καλῆ ακτή, the beautiful coast.—See D'Orville's *Sicula*, xxii. 3.

Ionian city. This coast belongs to the Sicilians, but is in that part of Sicily which inclines towards Tyrrhenia. The Samians were the only Ionians who accepted the invitation, accompanied by those Milesians who had escaped.

XXIII. When they were on their way to Sicily, and had arrived off the Epizephyrian Locri<sup>21</sup>, the Zancleans,

“ Postero die *amœnissimum littus*, et nullis scopulis impeditum e tam propinquo legimus, ut lapidis jactu id attingere possemus. Hinc ora hæc a Græcis fuit *Καλη αυτη* dicta et in his partibus urbs excitata fuit ab Ducetis Siculorum duce, et ab pulchro hoc litore *Καλαυτη* coalito vocabulo nominata.”

The learned author proceeds to prove, which he does incontrovertibly, that they who would read Calata, are certainly mistaken, nam oppida quibus Calata nomen Saracenæ et proinde recentioris originis, &c. Silius Italicus calls this place Piscosa Calacte, which term is applied by Homer to the Hellespont, *Ιχθυοειντα*.—T.

<sup>21</sup> *Epizephyrian Locri*.]—The Epizephyrian Locri were a colony from the Locri of Proper Greece, who migrating to Magna Græcia, took their distinctive name from the Zephyrian promontory, near which they settled. In Proper Greece there were the Locri Ozolæ, situated betwixt the Æolians and Phocæans, and so called, as Hoffman says, a gravitate odoris; the Locri Epi-Cnemidii, who resided in the vicinity of mount Cnemis; and the Locri Opuntii, who took their name from the city Opus.

In Plutarch's Greek Questions, I find this account of the Locri Ozolæ.

“ Some affirm that these Locrians were called the Locri Ozolæ, from Nessus; others say they were so named from the serpent Python, which being cast on shore by the foam of the sea there putrified. Others assert, that these Locri wore for garments the skins of he-goats, and lived constantly amongst the herds of

Zancleans<sup>22</sup>, under the conduct of Scythes their king, laid close siege to a Sicilian city. Intelligence of this was communicated to Anaxilaus<sup>23</sup>, prince of Rhegium:

goats, and from this became strong scented; whilst there are others who report of this country, that it brought forth many flowers, and that the people were called Ozolæ, from the grateful perfume which they diffused. Architas is one of those who asserts this last opinion. Athenæus in his first book, chap. xix. reckons the Epizephyrians amongst those who had a particular kind of dance appropriate to their nation.

“There were certain nations,” says he, “who had dances peculiar to themselves, as the Lacedæmonians, the Trezerians, the *Epizephyrians*, the Cretans, the Ionians, and the Mantineans. Aristoxenus preferred the dances of the Mantineans to all the rest, on account of the quickness with which they moved their hands.”

<sup>22</sup> *Zancleans.*]—Of all the cities of Sicily, this was the most ancient; it was afterwards named Messana, and now Messina.—See what Peter Burman says on this city, in his Commentaries on the “*Urbium Siculæ numismata.*”—*D’Orville*, 290. The reader may there find a very ancient coin in which Zancle is represented by a dolphin in a semicircular position.

Consult also Bentley’s Dissertation upon Phalaris, page 107.

The Greeks called it Zancle, or the Sickle, from the supposition that the sickle of Saturn fell here, and occasioned its semicircular form. The Latins called it Messana or Messina, from *Messis* a harvest. Modern travellers describe the approach to this place from the sea as remarkably beautiful, and the harbour, which the promontory forms in the shape of a reaping hook, as one of the finest in the world. Near the entrance of this harbour is the famous gulph of Charybdis, described by so many ancient writers; compare Homer, *Odys.* xii. with Virgil, *Æn.* iii.—7.

<sup>23</sup> *Anaxilaus.*]—This personage constituted one of the subjects of controversy betwixt Boyle and Bentley, who disputed whether the Anaxilaus mentioned by Pausanias is the Anaxilaus

laus

Rhegium<sup>24</sup>: he being hostile to the Zancleans, went to the Samians, persuading them that it would be better for them to turn aside from Calacte, where they were bound, and possess themselves of Zancle, now deserted by its inhabitants. The Samians followed his advice; upon which, anxious to recover their city, the Zancleans called to their

laus of Herodotus and Thucydides. Bentley, I think, proves beyond the possibility of dispute, that the three writers above-mentioned spoke of the same person, and that the only difference was with respect to the time in which he was supposed to live.—T.

<sup>24</sup> *Rhegium*,] now called Reggio. Its particular situation is thus described by Ovid:

Oppositumque potens contra Zancleia saxa  
Ingreditur Rhegium.

Its name was taken *απο το ρηγναι*, because in this place, by some convulsive operation of nature, Sicily was anciently supposed to have been torn from Italy. This incident is mentioned by almost all the Latin poets and philosophers. The best description in verse of this phenomenon, is that of Virgil:

Hæc loca vi quondam vastâ convulsâ ruina  
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)  
Disiluisse ferunt, &c. *Æn.* iii. 414.

Pliny, Strabo, and others affirm, that the strata in the corresponding and opposite sides of the strait are minutely similar. The same thing, it is almost unnecessary to add, is reported of England and France, and the opposite rocks of Dover and Boulogne. The curious reader will find some interesting particulars relating to Rhegium in D'Orville's *Sicula*, page 560, where is also engraved an ancient marble found at Rhegium. We learn from Strabo, that the deities principally worshipped here, were Apollo and Diana, and that the inhabitants were eminent for works in marble.—T.

assistance Hippocrates their ally, prince of Gela<sup>25</sup>. He came with an army as desired, but he put in irons Scythes the Zanclean prince, already deprived of his city, together with his brother Pythogenis, and sent them to Inycus<sup>26</sup>. The rest of the Zancleans he betrayed to the Samians, upon terms agreed upon between them at a previous interview. These terms were, that Hippocrates should have half of the booty, and the slaves found in the place, with every thing which was without the city. The greater part of the Zancleans he put in chains, and treated as slaves, selecting three

<sup>25</sup> *Gela*].—I inform the reader once for all, that my intelligence concerning the Sicilian cities is derived principally from the interesting work of D'Orville.

Gela was anciently a considerable city, and situated near the river of the same name; of the qualities of which Ovid thus speaks:

Præterit et Cyanen et fortem lenis Anapi  
Et te vorticibus non adcunde Gela.

Virgil calls it *immanis*:

Immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.

It was built by the inhabitants of Rhodes and Crete in conjunction; but whether the epithet *immanis* is applied by Virgil as descriptive of its greatness, may fairly be disputed; D'Orville considers it as synonymous with *crudelis*, *effera*, &c. or else, as he afterwards adds, from its situation ad amnem vorticolum et immanem. The symbol of this city on the Sicilian coins was a minotaur. Its modern name is Terra Nova.  
—T.

<sup>26</sup> *Inycus*.].—I find no mention of Inycus in D'Orville, but Hesychius has the expression *luxuriosus vinosus*; who adds that Inycus was anciently famous for its wine.—T.

hundred of the more distinguished to be put to death by the Samians, who nevertheless spared their lives.

XXIV. Scythes, the Zanclean prince, escaped from Inycus to Himera<sup>27</sup>, from thence he crossed over to Asia, and presented himself before Darius. Of all who had yet come to him from Greece, Darius thought this man the most just; for having obtained the king's permission to go to Sicily, he again returned to the Persian court, where he happily passed the remainder of a very long life.

XXV. The Samians, delivered from the power of the Medes, thus possessed themselves without any trouble of the beautiful city of Zancle. After the sea-fight of which Miletus was the object, the Phœnicians were ordered by the Persians to replace Æaces in Samos, as a mark of their regard, and as a reward of his services. Of this city alone, of all those which had revolted from the Persians, the temples and public buildings were not burned, as a compensation for its desertion of the allies.

<sup>27</sup> *Himera.*]—Himera was a Grecian city, built, according to Strabo, by the Zancleans. It was anciently famous for its baths. It flourished for a long time, till it was taken and plundered by the Carthaginians. There are two rivers of this name, which has occasioned some perplexity to the geographers in ascertaining the precise situation of the city here mentioned. It certainly emptied itself into the Tyrrhene sea. Its modern name is Termini. I should not omit mentioning that it was the birth-place of the lyric poet Stesichorus.—T.

After

After the capture of Miletus, the Persians made themselves masters of Caria, some of its cities being taken by force, whilst others surrendered.

XXVI. Histiaëus the Milesian, from his station at Byzantium, was intercepting the Ionian vessels of burden in their way from the Euxine, when word was brought him of the fate of Miletus; he immediately confided to Bisaltes, son of Apolophanes of Abydos, the affairs of the Hellespont, and departed with some Lesbians for Chios. The detachment to whom the defence of Chios was assigned refused to admit him; in consequence of which he gave them battle, at a place in the territories of Chios, called Cœlce \*, and killed a great number. The residue of the Chians, not yet recovered from the shock they had sustained in the former naval combat, he easily subdued, advancing for this purpose with his Lesbians from Polichna <sup>28</sup>, of which he had obtained possession.

XXVII. It generally happens that when calamity is impending over any city or nation, it is preceded by some prodigies <sup>29</sup>. Before this misfortune

\* Εν Κοιλαίσι.

<sup>28</sup> *Polichna*.]—The Latin versions render the Greek word πολίχνη, a small town; but Wesseling and Larcher are both of opinion, that it is the proper name of a town in the island of Chios.

<sup>29</sup> *Prodigies*.]—See Virgil's beautiful episode, where he introduces the prodigies preceding the assassination of Cæsar:

ture of the Chians, some extraordinary incidents had occurred:—Of a band of one hundred youths

*Solem quis dicere falsum*

*Audeat ? Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus  
Sæpe monet, fraudemque et opera tumescere bella  
Ille etiam extincto miseratus Cæsare Romam  
Quum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit  
Implique æternam timuerunt sæcula noctem, &c.*

*Georg. i. 464.*

Consult also the whole history of ancient superstition, as it appeared in the belief of prodigies, admirably discussed by Warburton, in his *Critical and Philosophical Enquiry into the Causes of Prodigies and Miracles*.

Julius Obsequens collected the prodigies supposed to have appeared within the Roman empire, from its first foundation to the year 742.

Our Shakespear has made an admirable use of human superstition, with regard to prodigies, in many of his plays, but particularly in *Macbeth* :

*Thou seest the heavens, as troubled with man's act,  
Threaten his bloody stage : by the clock 'tis day,  
And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp :  
Is it night's predominance, or the day's shame,  
That darkness does the face of earth intomb,  
When living light should kiss it ?——*

However a moralist and divine may be inclined to reprobate the spirit of Mr. Gibbon, with which he generally seems influenced when speaking of religion, and of christianity in particular, what he says on the subject of prodigies, from its great good sense, and application to the subject in question, I may introduce without apology.

“ The philosopher, who with calm suspicion examines the dreams and omens, the miracles and prodigies of profane and even of ecclesiastical history, will probably conclude, that if the eyes of the spectators have sometimes been deceived by fraud, the understanding of the readers has much more frequently been



youths<sup>10</sup> whom they sent to Delphi, ninety-eight perished by some infectious disorder; two alone returned. Not long also before the great sea-fight the roof of a building fell in upon some boys at school, so that of one hundred and twenty children, one only escaped: these warnings were sent them by the deity, for soon after happened the fight at sea, which brought their city to so low a condition. At this period Histiaëus appeared with the Lesbians, and easily vanquished a people already exhausted.

XXVIII. Histiaëus proceeded from hence on an expedition against Thasus<sup>11</sup>, followed by a numerous body of Ionians and Æolians. Whilst he was before this place he learned that the Phœnicians,

been insulted by fiction. Every event, or appearance, or accident, which seems to deviate from the ordinary course of nature, has been rashly ascribed to the immediate action of the deity, and the astonished fancy of the multitude has sometimes given shape, colour, language, and motion to the fleeting but uncommon meteors of the air.”

The quicquid Græcia mendax, audet in historia, applied by the Roman satirist to the Greek historians, partakes more of insulence than justice; perhaps it is not very extravagant to affirm, that there are more prodigies in Livy, than in all the Greek historians together.—*T.*

<sup>30</sup> One hundred youths.]—See Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vol. ii. 443.

<sup>11</sup> Thasus.]—This was a little island in the Ægean, on the Thracian coast, so called from Thasos, son of Agenor; it was anciently famous for its wine.—See Virgil Georg. ii. 91.

Sunt Thasiæ vites, &c.

*T.*

leaving

leaving Miletus, were advancing against the rest of Ionia. He without delay raised the siege of Thasus, and with his whole army passed over to Lesbos; from hence, alarmed by the want of necessaries, he crossed to the opposite continent, intending to possess himself of the corn which grew in Atarneum<sup>32</sup>, and in the province of Caicus, belonging to the Mysians. Harpagus, a Persian, was accidentally on this station, at the head of a powerful army: a battle ensued by land, in which Histiaëus himself was taken prisoner, and the greater part of his forces slain.

XXIX. The capture of Histiaëus was thus effected: the engagement took place at Malena, in the district of Atarnis, and the Greeks made an obstinate stand against the Persians, till the cavalry pouring in amongst them, they were unable to resist the impression. Histiaëus had conceived the idea that the king would pardon his revolt; and the desire of life so far prevailed, that during the pursuit, when a Persian soldier overtook and had raised his sword to kill him, he exclaimed aloud in the Persian tongue, that he was Histiaëus the Milesian.

XXX. I am inclined to believe<sup>33</sup> that if he had been

<sup>32</sup> *Atarneum*] was very fertile in corn, and peopled from the isle of Chios, near which it was.

<sup>33</sup> *I am inclined to believe.*]—Valcnaer remarks on this passage, that humanity was one of the most conspicuous qualities of Darius. The instances of his forgiving various individuals and nations,

been carried alive to the presence of Darius, his life would have been spared, and his fault forgiven. To prevent this, as well as all possibility of his obtaining a second time any influence over the king, Artaphernes the governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, who had taken him, crucified <sup>34</sup> their prisoner on their return to Sardis. The head they put in salt, and sent to Darius at Susa: Darius on hearing this rebuked them for what they had done, and for not conducting their prisoner alive to his presence. He directed the head to be washed, and honourably interred, as belonging to a man who had deserved well of him and of Persia.—Such was the fate of Histæus.

nations, against whom he had the justest reason to be incensed, are almost without number. In the case of Histæus, it should however be remembered, that his interposition in preserving the bridge of boats over the Danube, preserved the person and army of Darius. But, perhaps, a perfectly absolute monarch is never implicitly to be trusted, but, like a wild beast, is liable, however tamed and tractable in general, to sudden fits of destructive fury. Of this nature is the detestable fact related of Darius himself, in the 84th chap. of book the 4th; a piece of cruelty aggravated by a cool and deep dissimulation beforehand, which raised false hopes, and renders the comparison still more closely applicable.—T.

<sup>34</sup> *Crucified.*]—The moderns are by no means agreed about the particular manner in which the punishment of the cross was inflicted. With respect to our Saviour the Gospels inform us, that he was nailed to the cross through the hands and feet.—This mode of punishment was certainly abolished by Constantine, but prevailed to his time amongst the Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, and Greeks.—T.

XXXI. The Persian forces wintered near Miletus, with the view of renewing hostilities early in the spring; they accordingly, and without difficulty, took Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, contiguous to the continent. At each of these islands, as they fell into their hands, they in this manner enclosed the inhabitants, as it were in a net:—taking each other by the hand, they advanced from the sea on the north, and thus chasing the inhabitants, swept the whole island to the south. They also made themselves masters of the Ionian cities on the continent, but they did not sweep them in the same manner, which indeed was not practicable.

XXXII. The threats of the Persian generals, when first opposed to the Ionians, were fully put in execution: as soon as they possessed their cities, they made eunuchs of their most beautiful youths, who were selected for this purpose. The loveliest of their maidens they sent to the king, and they burned the cities with their temples. The Ionians were thus a third time reduced to servitude, once by the Lydians, and twice by the Persians.

XXXIII. From Ionia the fleet advanced, and regularly subdued all the places to the left of the Hellespont; those on the right had already been reduced by the Persian forces on the continent. The European side of the Hellespont contains the Chersonese, in which are a number of cities, Perinthus, many Thracian forts, Selybria, and Byzantium. The Byzantians and the Chalcedonians, on

the remote parts of the coast, did not wait for the coming of the Phœnician fleet, but forsaking their country, retired to the interior<sup>s</sup> parts of the Euxine, where they built the city Mesambria. The cities thus forsaken were burnt by the Phœnicians, who afterwards advanced against Prœconnesus and Artace; to these also they set fire, and returned to the Chersonese, to destroy those places from which in their former progress they had turned aside. Cyzicus they left unmolested, the inhabitants of which, previous to the arrival of the Phœnician fleet, had submitted to the king, through the mediation of Cēbarus, governor of Dascylium, and son of Megabyzus; but, except Cardia, the Phœnicians reduced all the other parts of the Chersonese.

XXXIV. Before this period all these places were in subjection to Miltiades, son of Cimon, and grand-son of Stefagoras. This sovereignty had originated with Miltiades the son of Cypselus, in this manner:—This part of the Chersonese was possessed by the Thracian Dolonci<sup>35</sup>, who being involved in a troublesome contest with the Absinthians, sent their leaders to Delphi, to enquire concerning the event of the war. The Pythian in her answer recommended them to encourage that man to found a colony amongst them, who on their leaving the temple should first of all offer them the rites of hospitality. . The Dolonci returning by

<sup>35</sup> *Dolonci.*]—So called from Doloncus, a son of Saturn:

the Sacred Way<sup>36</sup>, passed through Phocis and Bœotia; not being invited by either of these people, they turned aside to Athens.

XXXV. At this period the supreme authority of Athens was in the hands of Pisistratus<sup>37</sup>; but an important influence was also possessed by Miltia-

<sup>36</sup> *Sacred Way.*]—There was a very celebrated “Sacred Way,” which led from Athens to Eleusis, but this could not be the one intended in this place; it was probably that by which the Athenians accompanied the sacred pomp to Delphi.—*Wesseling.*

The deputations which were repeatedly sent from the different states and cities of Greece to the oracle at Delphi, bore in many instances a strong resemblance to the modern pilgrimages of the Mahometans, to the tomb of their prophet at Mecca.

There was a “Via Sacra” leading from Rome, which took its name from the solemn union which with the attendant ceremonies of sacrifices here took place betwixt Romulus and Tatius, prince of the Sabines.—*T.*

<sup>37</sup> *Pisistratus.*]—I have made several remarks on Pisistratus, in the first volume of this work; but I neglected to mention that Athenæus ranks him amongst those ancients who were famous for collecting valuable libraries. “Larensius,” says Athenæus, “had more books than any of those ancients who were celebrated for their libraries; such as Polycrates of Samos, Pisistratus the tyrant of Athens, Euclid the Athenian, Nectocrates of Cyprus, the kings of Pergamus, Euripides the poet, Aristotle the philosopher, Theophrastus, Næleus, who possessed the libraries of the two last-named, and whose descendants sold them to Ptolemy Philadelphus.”

The curious intelligence which this citation communicates, affords an excellent specimen of the amusement and information to be gained by the perusal of Athenæus.—*T.*

des. He was of a family which maintained four horses<sup>38</sup> for the Olympic games, and was descended from Æacus and Ægina. In more recent times it became Athenian, being first established at Athens by Philæus the son of Ajax. This Miltiades, as he sat before the door of his house<sup>39</sup>, perceived the Dolonci passing by; and as by their dress and spears they appeared to be foreigners, he called to them: on their approach he offered them the use of his house, and the rites of hospitality. They ac-

<sup>38</sup> *Four horses.*]—The first person, according to Virgil, who drove with four horses, was Erichonius:

Primus Erichoneus currus et quatuor ausus  
Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis insilire victor.

*Georg. iii.*

Of the passage "He maintained four horses," M. Larcher remarks, "that it is as much as to say he was very rich, for Attica being a barren soil, and little adapted to pasturage, the keeping of horses was necessarily expensive."

In this kind of chariot race the four horses were ranged abreast; the two in the middle were harnessed to the yoke, the two side horses were fastened by their traces to the yoke, or to some other part of the chariot.—See *West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games.*—T.

<sup>39</sup> *Before the door of his house.*]—Abraham and Lot were sitting before the doors of their houses, when they were accosted by the angels of God. Modern travellers to the East remark, that all the better houses have porches or gateways, where the master of the family receives visits, and sits to transact business. There is a passage more to the present purpose in Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor*:—"At ten minutes after ten in the morning we had in view several fine bays and a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans sitting by the doors, under sheds resembling porticoes, or by shady trees, &c."—T.

cepted his kindness, and being hospitably treated by him, they revealed to him all the will of the oracle, with which they entreated his compliance. Miltiades was much disposed to listen to them, being weary of the tyranny of Pisistratus, and desirous to change his situation: he immediately went to Delphi, to consult the oracle whether he should do what the Dolonci required.

XXXVI. Thus, having received the sanction of the oracle, Miltiades, son of Cypselus, who had formerly at the Olympic games been victorious in the contest of the chariots drawn by four horses, accompanied the Dolonci: he took such of the Athenians as were willing to go with him, and arriving on the spot, was by those who had invited him elected their prince. His first care was to fortify the isthmus of the Chersonese, from the city Cardia<sup>42</sup> as far as Pactya, to prevent any hostile incursions on the part of the Absinthians. At this point the length of the isthmus is thirty-six furlongs; the extreme length of the Chersonese, including the isthmus, is four hundred and twenty furlongs.

XXXVII. Miltiades blockading the entrance of the Chersonese, and thus keeping out the Absinthians, commenced hostilities with the people of Lampfacum; but they by an ambuscade made him their prisoner. Intelligence of this event being

<sup>42</sup> *Cardia*.]—This place was so named from its resemblance to a heart.—*T*.



communicated to Croesus the Lydian, who held Miltiades in great esteem, he sent to the Lamplacenes, requiring them to set him at liberty; threatening on their refusal to destroy them like pines<sup>41</sup>. They deliberated amongst themselves concerning the meaning of this menace from Croesus, which greatly perplexed them: at length one of their elders explained it, by informing them that of all the trees the pine was the only one which, once being cut down, shot out no more off-shoots, but totally perished. Intimidated by this threat of Croesus, the Lamplacenes dismissed Miltiades.

XXXVIII. Miltiades thus escaped through the interposition of Croesus; but dying afterwards without issue, he left his authority and wealth to Stesagoras, son of Cimon, his uterine brother. Upon his death he was honoured by the inhabitants of the Chersonese with the marks of esteem usually

<sup>41</sup> *Like pines.*]—From the time of Herodotus this expression passed into a proverb, denoting a final destruction, without any possibility of flourishing again.

In nothing was the acuteness and learning of our Bentley more apparent, than in his argument against the genuineness of the epistles ascribed to Phalaris, drawn from this expression of Herodotus.—See his Dissertation, last edit. 122. “A strange piece of stupidity in our letter-monger (I cite Bentley’s words) or else contempt of his readers, to pretend to assume the garb and person of Phalaris, and yet knowingly to put words in his mouth, not heard of till a whole century after him. What is here individually ascribed to the pine-tree, is applicable to other trees; such as the fir, the palm, the cedar, the cypress, &c. which all perish by lopping.”—T.

paid to the founder of a place; equestrian and gymnastic exercises were periodically observed in his honour, in which none of the Lampsacenes are permitted to contend. It afterwards happened, that during a war with the people of Lampsacum, Stefagoras also died, and without children: he was wounded in the head, whilst in the Prytaneum, with a blow from an ax. The person who inflicted the wound pretended to be a deserter, but proved in effect a most determined enemy <sup>42</sup>.

XXXIX. After the death of Stefagoras, as above described, the Pisistratidæ dispatched in a trireme Miltiades, another son of Cimon, and brother of

<sup>42</sup> *Determined enemy.*]—I cannot better introduce than in the midst of a digression like the present, the opinion which Swift entertained of Herodotus. It may justly be regarded as a great curiosity, it proves that Swift had perused the Greek historian with particular attention, it exhibits no mean example of his critical sagacity, and is perhaps the only specimen in being of his skill in Latinity.—It is preserved in Winchester college, in the first leaf of Stevens's edition of Herodotus; and to add to its value, is in Swift's own hand-writing.

*Judicium de Herodoto post longum tempus releso.*

“Ctesias mendacissimus Herodotum mendaciorum arguit; exceptis paucissimis (ut mea fert sententia) omni modo excusandum; cæterum divorticulis abundans hic pater historicorum filium narrationis ad tadium abruptit, unde oritur, ut par est legentibus, confusio et exinde oblivio.—Quin et forsân ipsæ narrationes circumstantiis nimium pro re scatent.—Quod ad cætera hunc scriptorem inter apprime laudandos censeo neque Græcis neque Barbaris plus æquo faventem aut iniquum—in orationibus fere brevem, simplicem nec nimis frequentem.—Neque absunt dogmata e quibus eruditus lector prudentiam tam moralem quam civilem haurire potuerit.”—T.

the deceased Stesagoras, to take the government of the Chersonese. Whilst he was at Athens they had treated him with much kindness, as if ignorant of the death of his father Cimon; the particulars of which I shall relate in another place. Miltiades, as soon as he landed in the Chersonese, kept himself at home, as if in sorrow<sup>43</sup> for his brother: which being known, all the principal persons of the Chersonese assembled from the different cities, and coming in one common public procession, as if to condole with him, he put them in chains; after which he secured the possession of the Chersonese, maintaining a body of five hundred guards.—He then married Hegesipyla, daughter of Olorus king of Thrace.

XL. The son of Cimon had not been long in the Chersonese, before he was involved in difficulties far heavier than he had yet experienced; for in the third year of his authority he was compelled to fly from the power of the Scythians. The Scy-

<sup>43</sup> *As if in sorrow.*]—This passage has greatly perplexed all the commentators. It is certain that the word *ἐπιτιμῶν*, as it now stands in the text, is wrong, but it is by no means clear what it ought to be; Valcnaer wishes to read *ἐπὶ πένθει*, which seems very satisfactory in itself, and best agrees with the context, where it is said the great men went to condole with him (*συλλυπηθῆσμεν*). Wessling is inclined to read *ἐπιταφίσαι*, as if to bury him; Larcher, differing from all these readings, renders it “under pretence of doing honour to his memory;” which seems of all others the most difficult to justify, and to rest only on the far-fetched idea, that during the time of mourning people confined themselves to their apartments.—T.

thian Nomades being incensed against Darius, assembled their forces, and advanced to the Chersonese. Miltiades, not venturing to make a stand against them, fled at their approach; when they retired, the Dolonci, after an interval of three years, restored him.

• XLI. The same Miltiades, on being informed that the Phœnicians were arrived off Tenedos, loaded five triremes with his property, and sailed for Athens. He went on board at Cardia, crossed the gulph of Melas, and passing the Chersonese, he himself, with four of his vessels, eluded the Phœnician fleet, and escaped to Imbros<sup>44</sup>; the fifth was pursued and taken by the enemy, it was commanded by Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades, not by the daughter of Olorus, but by some other female. The Phœnicians, on learning that he was the son of Miltiades, conducted him to the king, expecting some considerable mark of favour; for his father Miltiades had formerly endeavoured to prevail on the Ionians to accede to the advice of the Scythians, who wished them to break down their bridge of boats, and return home. Darius, however, so far from treating Metiochus with severity, shewed him the greatest kindness; he gave him a house, with some property, and married him

<sup>44</sup> *Imbros.*]—This was an island of the *Ægean*, betwixt *Lemnos* and the *Thracian Chersonese*; it was anciently famous for producing a prodigious number of hares.—Its modern name is *Imbro*.—*T.*

to a woman of Persia : their offspring are considered as Persians.

XLII. Miltiades leaving Imbros, proceeded to Athens : the Persians executed this year no farther hostilities against the Ionians, but contrived for them many useful regulations. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, assembled the deputies of the different cities, requiring them to enter into treaty for the mutual observance of justice with respect to each other, and for the prevention of reciprocal depredation and violence. His next step was to divide all the Ionian districts into *parasangs* (the Persian name for a measure of thirty furlongs) by which he ascertained the tributes they were severally to pay. This distribution of Artaphernes has continued, with very little variation, to the present period, and was certainly an ordinance which tended to establish the general tranquillity.

XLIII. At the commencement of the spring, the king sent Mardonius to supersede the other commanders : he was the son of Gobryas, a very young man, and had recently married Artozostre, a daughter of Darius. He accordingly appeared on the coast ready to embark, with a considerable body of land and sea-forces ; arriving at Cilicia, he went himself on board, taking under his command the rest of the fleet : the land army he sent forward to the Hellespont, under the direction of their different officers. Mardonius passed by Asia, and came to Ionia, where an incident happened which  
will

will hardly obtain credit with those Greeks who are unwilling to believe that Otanes, in the assembly of the seven conspirators, gave it as his opinion that a popular government would be most for the advantage of Persia:—for Mardonius, removing the Ionian princes from their station, every where established a democracy. He then proceeded towards the Hellespont, where collecting a numerous fleet and a powerful army, he passed them over the Hellespont in ships, and proceeded through Europe, towards Eretria and Athens.

XLIV. These two cities were the avowed object of his expedition, but he really intended to reduce as many of the Greek cities as possibly he could. By sea he subdued the Thasians, who attempted no resistance; by land his army reduced all those Macedonians who were more remote: the Macedonians on this side had been reduced before. Leaving Thasos, he coasted by the opposite continent as far as Acanthus; from Acanthus, passing onwards, he endeavoured to double mount Athos; but at this juncture a tempestuous wind arose from the north, which pressing hard upon the fleet, drove a great number of ships against mount Athos. He is said on this occasion to have lost three hundred vessels, and more than twenty thousand men: of these, numbers were destroyed by the sea-monsters, which abound off the coast near Athos, others were dashed on the rocks, some lost their lives from their inability to swim, and many perished by the cold.

XLV. Whilst Mardonius with his land forces was encamped in Macedonia, he was attacked in the night by the Brygi<sup>45</sup> of Thrace, who killed many of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself. They did not, however, finally elude the power of the Persians, for Mardonius would not leave that region till he had effectually reduced them under his power. After this event he led back his army, which had suffered much from the Brygi, but still more by the tempest off Athos<sup>46</sup>; his return, therefore, to Asia, was far from being glorious.

## XLVI.

<sup>45</sup> *Brygi.*]—See book viii chap. 73, by which it appears, that these Brygi were the Phrygians.—See also Valœner's note on this word.—T.

<sup>46</sup> *Athos.*]—"We embarked at Lemnos, and landed at Monte Santo, as it is called by the Europeans; it is the ancient mount Athos in Macedonia, now called both by Greeks and Turks Haion Horos, the Holy Mountain, by reason that there are so many convents on it, to which the whole mountain belongs. It is a promontory which extends almost directly from north to south, being joined to the continent by a neck of land about a mile wide, through which some historians say that Xerxes cut a channel, in order to carry his army a shorter way by water from one bay to the other, which seems very improbable, nor did I see any sign of such a work. The bay of Contessa, to the north of this neck of land, was called by the ancients Strymonicus, to the south of the bay of Monte Santo, anciently called Singiticus, and by the Greeks at this day Amoulianc, from an island of that name at the bottom of it, between which and the gulph of Salonica is the bay of Haia Mamma, called by the ancients Toronæus. The northern cape of this promontory is called cape Laura, and is the promontory Nymphæum of the ancients; and the cape of Monte Santo seems to be the promontory Acrathes: over the former is the highest summit of Mount Athos, all the other parts of it, though

XLVI. In the following year Darius having received intelligence from their neighbours that the Thasians meditated a revolt, sent them orders to pull down their walls, and remove their ships to Abdera. The Thasians had formerly been besieged by Histæus of Miletus; as therefore they were possessed of considerable wealth, they applied it to the purpose of building vessels of war, and of constructing a stronger wall: their wealth was collected partly from the continent, and partly from their mines. From their gold mines at Scaptefyla<sup>47</sup> they obtained upon an average eighty talents; Thasus itself did not produce so much, but they were on the whole so affluent, that being generally exempt from taxes, the whole of their annual revenue was two hundred, and in the times of greatest abundance three hundred talents.

XLVII. These mines I have myself seen; the most valuable are those discovered by the Phœni-

though hilly, being low in comparison of it: it is a very steep rocky height, covered with pine-trees.—If we suppose the perpendicular height of it to be four miles from the sea, though I think it cannot be so much, it may be easily computed if its shadow could reach to Lemnos, which they say is eighty miles distant, though I believe it is not above twenty leagues.”—Pococke, vol. ii. 145.

<sup>47</sup> *Scaptefyla*.]—In the Greek it is in two words, Σκαπτῆ ὕλη, the wood of Scapte. Thus in a former chapter, the beautiful coast Καλὴ ἀκτὴ, or Calacte.—See also Virgil, *Æneid* vii. 208:

Threiciamque Samon quæ nunc Samothracia fertur. T.

cians,



gians, who, under the conduct of Thafus, first made a settlement in this island, and named it from their leader. The mines so discovered are betwixt a place called Ænyra and Coenyra. Opposite to Samothracia is a large mountain, which, by the search after mines, has been effectually overturned.

XLVIII. The Thasians, in obedience to the will of Darius, destroyed their walls, and sent their ships to Abdera. To make experiment of the real intentions of the Greeks, and to ascertain whether they were inclined to submit to or resist his power, Darius sent emissaries to different parts of Greece to demand earth and water<sup>48</sup>. The cities on the coast who paid him tribute, he ordered to construct vessels of war, and transports for cavalry.

XLIX. At the time these latter were preparing the king's envoys arrived in Greece: most of the people on the continent complied with what was required of them, as did all the islanders whom the messengers visited, and amongst others the Æginetæ. This conduct gave great offence to the Athenians, who concluded that the Æginetæ had hostile intentions towards them, which in conjunc-

<sup>48</sup> *Earth and water.*—See in what manner the people of Athens and Lacedæmon treated these messengers, in book the seventh.

tion with the Persians they were resolved to execute. They eagerly therefore embraced this pretext, and accused them at Sparta of betraying the liberties of Greece.

L. Intigated by their report, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides, and prince of Sparta, went over to Ægina, determining fully to investigate the matter. He endeavoured to seize the persons of the accused, but was opposed by many of the Æginetæ, and in particular by Crius son of Polycritus, who threatened to make him repent any violent attempts upon his countrymen. He told him that his conduct was the consequence, not of the joint deliberations of the Spartans, but of his being corrupted by the Athenians, otherwise the other king also would have accompanied and assisted him. He said this in consequence of a letter received from Demaratus. Cleomenes, thus repulsed from Ægina, asked Crius his name; upon being told, "Well then," returned Cleomenes, "you had better tip your horns with brass<sup>49</sup>, and prepare to resist some great calamity."

LI. Demaratus, who circulated this report at Sparta to the prejudice of Cleomenes, was the son

<sup>49</sup> *Your horns with brass.*]—In allusion to his name Κριός, which signifies a ram.—See a remarkable verse in the first book of Kings, chap. xxii. ver. 11.

"And Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, made him horns of iron: and he said, Thus saith the Lord, With these shalt thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them."—T.

of Ariston, and himself also a prince of Sparta, though of an inferior branch; both had the same origin, but the family of Eurysthenes, as being the eldest, was most esteemed.

LII. The Lacedæmonians, in opposition to what is asserted by all the poets, affirm that they were first introduced into the region which they now inhabit, not by the sons of Aristodemus, but by Aristodemus himself. He at that time reigned, and was son of Aristomachus, grandson of Cleodæus, and great-grandson of Hyllus. His wife Argia was daughter of Autefion, grand-daughter of Tisamenus, great-grand-daughter of Therfander, and in the fourth descent from Polynices. She brought her husband twins, whom when he had seen he died by some disease. The Lacedæmonians of that day, after consulting together, elected for their prince the eldest of these children, as their law required. They were still at a loss, as the infants so much resembled each other<sup>50</sup>. In this perplexity, they applied

<sup>50</sup> *Resembled each other.*]—Upon the perplexities arising from this resemblance of twins to each other, the whole plot of the *Menæchmi* of Plautus, and the *Comedy of Errors* of Shakespeare, are made to depend:

Mercator quidam fuit Syracusis senex,  
 Ei sunt nati filii gemini duo,  
 Ita forma simili pueri, uti mater sua  
 Non internosse posset quæ mammam dābat, &c.

*Prologus ad Menæch.*

plied to the mother, she also professed herself unable to decide: her ignorance however was only pretended, and arose from her wish to make both her children kings. The difficulty thus remaining, they sent to Delphi for advice. The Pythian commanded them to acknowledge both the children as their kings, but to honour the first-born the most. Receiving this answer from the Pythian, the Lacedæmonians were still unable to discover the first-born child, till a Messenian, whose name was Panites, advised them to take notice which child the mother washed and fed first: if she was constant in making a distinction, they might reasonably conclude they had discovered what they wished; if she made no regular preference in this respect of one child to the other, her ignorance of the matter in question was probably unaffected, and they must have recourse to other measures. The Spartans followed the advice of the Messenian, and carefully watched the mother of the children of Aristodemus. Perceiving her, who was totally unconscious of their design, regularly preferring her first-born, both in washing and feeding it, they respected this silent testimony of the mother. The child

There she had not been long, but she became  
A joyful mother of two goodly sons;  
And, which was strange, the one so like the other  
As could not be distinguish'd, &c. *Comedy of Errors.*

It seems unnecessary to add, that this latter play is a very minute copy of the former, of which in Shakespeare's time translations in the different languages of Europe were easily to be obtained.—T.

thus

thus preferred by its parent they treated as the eldest, and educated at the public expence, calling him Eurysthenes, and his brother Procles. The brothers, when they grew up, were through life at variance with each other, and their enmity was perpetuated by their posterity:

LIII. The above is related on the authority of the Lacedæmonians alone; but I shall now give the matter as it is generally received in Greece.—The Greeks enumerate these Dorian princes in regular succession to Perseus, the son of Danae, passing over the story of the deity; from which account it plainly appears that they were Greeks, and were always so esteemed. These Dorian princes, as I have observed, go no higher than Perseus, for Perseus had no mortal father from whom his surname could be derived; being circumstanced as Hercules was with respect to Amphytrion. I am therefore justified in stopping at Perseus. If we ascend from Danae, the daughter of Acrisius, we shall find that the ancestors of the Dorian princes were of *Ægyptian origin*.<sup>51</sup>—Such is the Grecian account of their descent.

#### LIV.

<sup>51</sup> *Ægyptian origin.*—According to Herodotus, all the principal persons of the Dorian family upwards, were in a direct line from *Ægypt*. The same author says, that Perseus was originally from *Assyria*, according to the traditions of the *Persians*. The like is said, and with great truth, of the *Heraclidæ*, who are represented by Plato as of the same race as the *Achæmenidæ* of *Persia*. The *Persians* therefore, and the *Grecians*,  
were

LIV. The Persians affirm that Perseus was an Assyrian by birth; becoming afterwards a Greek, although none of his ancestors were of that nation. The ancestors of Acrisius claim no consanguinity with Perseus<sup>52</sup>, being Ægyptians; which account is confirmed by the Greeks.

LV. In what manner, being Ægyptians, they became the princes of the Dorians, having been mentioned by others, I need not relate: but I shall explain what they have omitted.

LVI. The Spartans distinguished their princes by many honourable privileges. The priesthoods of the Lacedæmonian<sup>53</sup> and of the celestial Ju-

were in great measure of the same family, being equally Cuthites from Chaldea; but the latter came last from Ægypt. *Bryant*, vol. iii. 388.

<sup>52</sup> *No consanguinity with Perseus.*]—Herodotus more truly represents Perseus as an Assyrian, by which is meant a Babylonian, and agreeably to this he is said to have married Asterie, the daughter of Belus, the same as Astaroth and Astarte of Canaan, by whom he had a daughter, Hecate. This, though taken from an idle system of theology, yet plainly shews that the history of Perseus had been greatly misapplied and lowered by being inserted among the fables of Greece, &c.

*Bryant*, vol. ii. 64.

<sup>53</sup> *Lacedæmonian.*]—Larcher remarks on this expression, that Herodotus is the only writer who distinguishes Jupiter by this appellation. I have before observed, that the office of priesthood and king were anciently united in the same person.—*T.*

piler<sup>54</sup> were appropriated to them: they had the power also of making hostile expeditions wherever they pleased, nor might any Spartan obstruct them without incurring the curses of their religion. In the field of battle their post is in the front; when they retire, in the rear. They have a hundred chosen men<sup>55</sup> as a guard for their person: when upon their march, they may take for their use as many sheep as they think proper, and they have the back<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Celestial Jupiter.*]—This epithet was, I suppose, given to Jupiter, because the sky was considered as his particular department.—See the answer of Neptune to Iris, in the fifteenth book of the Iliad:

Three brother deities from Saturn came,  
And ancient Rhea, Earth's immortal dame;  
Assign'd by lot, our triple rule we know;  
Infernal Pluto sways the shades below;  
O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the starry plain,  
Ethereal Jove extends his wide domain;  
My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,  
And hush the roarings of the sacred deep. T.

<sup>55</sup> *Hundred chosen men.*]—In times of peace, the Lacedæmonian princes were not attended by guards; Thucydides says, that in war they had three hundred.—T.

<sup>56</sup> *The back.*]—By the back we must understand the chine; and we learn as well from Homer, as other ancient writers, that it was always considered as the honourable portion. See *Odyssey*, book iv. where Telemachus visits Menelaus at Sparta:

Ceasing benevolent, he strait assigns  
The royal portion of the choicest *chines*  
To each accepted friend.

See also the Iliad, book vii.

The king himself, an honorary sign,  
Before great Ajax plac'd the mighty *chine*. T.

and

and the skin <sup>57</sup> of all that are sacrificed. Such are their privileges in war.

LVII. In peace also they have many distinctions. In the solemnity of any public sacrifice, the first place is always reserved for the kings, to whom not only the choicest things are presented, but twice as much as to any other person <sup>58</sup>. They have more—  
over

<sup>57</sup> *The skin.*]—These skins we find were allotted to the princes during the time of actual service, when, as their residence was in tents, they must have been of the greatest service both as seats and as beds.—See Leviticus, vii. 8: where it appears that the priest had the skin.

“ And the priest that offereth any man’s burnt-offering, even the priest shall have to himself the skin of the burnt-offering which he hath offered.”

They were serviceable also in another respect, as they were made into bottles to preserve wine, and to carry liquids of different kinds. Of skins also the first cloaths were made.—*T.*

<sup>58</sup> *Twice as much as to any other person.*]—Instances of this mode of shewing reverence and distinction occur repeatedly in Homer. Diomed, as a mark of honour, had more meat and wine than any other person. Agamemnon also, and Idomeneus, have more wine than the rest. Benjamin’s mess was five times as large as that of his brethren. Xenophon observes, that Lycurgus did not assign a double portion to the kings, because they were to eat twice as much as any body else, but that they might give it to whom they pleased. We find from Homer, that this also was a common practice during the repast, to give of their own portion to some friend or favourite. Accordingly in the *Odyssey*, we find in some very beautiful lines, that Ulysses gave a portion of the chine reserved for himself to Demodocus, “ The Bard of Fame.”



over the first of every libation<sup>59</sup>, and the skins of the sacrificed victims. On the first and seventh of every month, they give to each of them a perfect animal, which is sacrificed in the temple of Apollo. To this is added a medimnus of meal, and a Lacedæmonian quart of wine<sup>60</sup>. In the public games, they sit in the most distinguished place<sup>61</sup>; they appoint whomsoever they please to the dignity

The bard an herald guides : the gazing throng  
Pay low obeisance as he moves along  
Beneath a sculptur'd arch he sits enthron'd,  
The peers encircling, form an awful round :  
Then from the chine Ulysses carves with art,  
Delicious food, an honorary part.

“ This let the master of the lyre receive,

“ A pledge of love, 'tis all a wretch can give ;

“ Lives there a man beneath the spacious skies

“ Who sacred honours to the bard denies ?” &c. T.

<sup>59</sup> *Libation.*]—The ceremony of offering a libation was this : When, previous to sacrifice, the sacred meal mixed with salt was placed upon the head of the victim, the priest took the vessel which held the wine, and just tasting it himself, gave it to those near him to taste also : it was then poured upon the head of the beast betwixt the horns. The burnt-offerings enjoined by the Mosaic law were in like manner accompanied by libations.—See Exodus, xxix. 40.—T.

<sup>60</sup> *Medimnus of meal—quart of wine.*]—

“ Then shall he that offereth an offering unto the Lord bring a meat-offering of a tenth-deal of flour, mingled with the fourth part of an hin of oil.

“ And the fourth part of an hin of wine for a drink-offering shalt thou prepare, with the burnt-offering, or sacrifice.”—Numbers, xv. 4, 5.

<sup>61</sup> *Most distinguished place.*]—We learn from Xenophon, that  
wherever

dignity of Proxeni<sup>62</sup>, and each of them chooses two Pythii. The Pythii are those who are sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and are maintained at the public expence as well as the kings. If the kings do not think proper to take their repast in public, two choenices of meal with a cotyla of wine are sent to their respective houses; but if they are present, they receive a double portion. If any private person invite them to an entertainment, a similar respect is shewn them. The oracular declarations are preserved by them, though the Pythii also must know them. The kings alone have the power of deciding in the following matters, and they decide these only: They choose an husband for an heiress, if her father had not previously betrothed her: they have the care of the public ways; whoever chooses to adopt a child<sup>63</sup>, must do it in the pre-

wherever the kings appeared every body rose, out of reverence to their persons, except the Ephori. Of these magistrates Larcher remarks, that they were in some respect superior in dignity to the kings, to limit whose authority they were first instituted.—T.

<sup>62</sup> *Proxeni.*]—It was the business of the Proxeni to entertain the ambassadors from foreign states, and introduce them at the public assemblies.

<sup>63</sup> *Adopt a child.*]—The custom of adoption amongst the Romans was much more frequent than amongst the Greeks, though borrowed of the latter by the former. In Greece, an eunuch could not adopt a child; and it was necessary that the person adopted should be eighteen years younger than the person who adopted him. In Rome, the ceremony of adoption was performed before the prætor, or before an assembly of the people. In the times of the emperors, the permission of the prince was sufficient.—T.

sence of the kings. They assist at the deliberations of the senate, which is composed of twenty-eight persons. In case of their not appearing, those senators who are the nearest relations to the kings take their places and privilege, having two voices independent of their own.

LVIII. Such are the honours paid by the Spartans to their princes whilst alive; they have others after their decease. Messengers are sent to every part of Sparta to relate the event, whilst through the city the women beat on a caldron<sup>64</sup>. At this signal, one free-born person of each sex is compelled under very heavy penalties to disfigure themselves. The same ceremonies which the Lacedæmonians observe on the death of their kings, are practised also by the Barbarians of Asia; the greater part of whom on a similar occasion use these rites. When a king of Lacedæmon dies, a certain number of Lacedæmonians, independent of the Spartans, are obliged

<sup>64</sup> *The women beat a drum.*]—A very curious incident relative to this circumstance is given us by Ælian, in his Various History. The Lacedæmonians having subdued the Messenians, took to themselves the half of all their property, and compelled their free-born women, *ἡς τὰ πλεον βαδίζειν*, to walk in the funeral processions, and to lament at the deaths of those with whom they were not at all connected.

Women who were free born never appeared at funerals, except at those of their relations, much less did they lament like the women hired for this purpose, which we find from the above passage the Lacedæmonians compelled the Messenian women to do. It is to be observed, that the women were much more rigorously secluded in Greece than in Rome.—T.

from

from all parts of Lacedæmon to attend his funeral. When these, together with the Helots<sup>65</sup> and Spartans, to the amount of several thousands, are assembled in one place, they begin, men and women, to beat their breasts, to make loud and dismal lamentations<sup>66</sup>, always exclaiming of their last prince that he was of all preceding ones the best. If one of their kings die in battle, they make a representation of his person, and carry it to the place of interment upon a bier richly adorned. When it is buried, there is an interval of ten days from all

<sup>65</sup> *Helots.*]—The Helots were a kind of public slaves to the Spartans, and rendered so by the right of conquest. They took their name from Helos, a Lacedæmonian town; their slavery was rigorous in the extreme, but they might on certain terms obtain their freedom. Upon them the business of agriculture and commerce entirely depended, whilst their haughty masters were employed in gymnastic exercises or in feasting. For a more particular account of them, consult Cragius de Republica Lacedæmon. and Archbishop Potter.—*T.*

<sup>66</sup> *Lamentations.*]—This custom still prevails in Ægypt, and in various parts of the East. “When the corpse,” says Dr. Russel, “is carried out, a number of sheiks with their tattered banners walk first, next come the male friends, and after them the corpse, carried with the head foremost upon men’s shoulders. The nearest male relations immediately follow, and the women close the procession with dreadful shrieks.”

See also what Mascrier tells us from M. Maillet, that not only the relations and female friends in Ægypt surround the corpse while it remains unburied, with the most bitter cries, scratching and beating their faces so violently as to make them bloody, and black and blue. Those of the lower kind also are apt to call in certain women who *play on tabors*, &c. The reader will find many similar examples collected in “Observations on Scripture,” vol. iii. 408, 9.—*T.*

business and amusement, with every public testimony of sorrow.

LIX. They have also another custom in common with the Persians. When a prince dies, his successor remits every debt due either to the prince or the public. In Persia also, he who is chosen king remits to every city whatever tributes happen to be due.

LX. In one instance, the Lacedæmonians observe the usage of Ægypt. Their heralds, musicians, and cooks, follow the profession of their fathers. The son of a herald is of course a herald, and the same of the other two professions. If any man has a louder voice than the son of a herald, it signifies nothing.

LXI. Whilst Cleomenes was at Ægina, consulting for the common interest of Greece, he was persecuted by Demaratus, who was influenced not by any desire of serving the people of Ægina, but by jealousy and malice. Cleomenes on his return endeavoured to degrade his rival from his station, for which he had the following pretence:—Ariston succeeding to the throne of Sparta, married two wives, but had children by neither; not willing to believe that any defect existed on his part, he married a third time. He had a friend a native of Sparta, to whom on all occasions he shewed a particular preference. This friend had a wife, who from being  
remarkable

remarkable for her ugliness<sup>67</sup>, became exceedingly beautiful. When an infant her features were very plain and disagreeable, which was a source of much affliction to her parents, who were people of great affluence<sup>68</sup>. Her nurse seeing this, recommended that she should every day be carried to the temple of Helen, situate in a place called Therapne, near the temple of Apollo. Here the nurse regularly presented herself with the child, and standing near the shrine implored the goddess to remove the girl's deformity. As she was one day departing from the temple, a woman is said to have appeared to her, enquiring what she carried in her arms: the nurse replied, it was a child. She desired to see it; this the nurse, having had orders to that effect from the parents, at first refused, but seeing that the woman persevered in her wish, she at length complied. The stranger, taking the infant in her arms, stroaked it on the face, saying, that hereafter she should become the loveliest woman of Sparta; and from that hour her features began to improve. On her arriving at a proper age, Agetus son of Alcides, and the friend of Ariston, made her his wife.

<sup>67</sup> *Remarkable for her ugliness.*]—Pausanias says, that from being remarkable for her ugliness, she became the most beautiful woman in Greece, *υπο Ελενης*, next to Helen.—T.

<sup>68</sup> *Great affluence.*]—How was it possible, asks M. Larcher in this place, to have great riches in Sparta? All the lands of Lacedæmon were divided in equal portions amongst the citizens, and gold and silver were prohibited under penalty of death.

LXII. Ariston, inflamed with a passion for this woman, took the following means to obtain his wishes: he engaged to make her husband a present of whatever he would select from his effects, on condition of receiving a similar favour in return. Agetus having no suspicion with respect to his wife, as Ariston also was married, agreed to the proposal, and it was confirmed by an oath. Ariston accordingly gave his friend whatever it was that he chose, whilst he in return, having previously determined the matter, demanded the wife of Agetus. Agetus said, that he certainly did not mean to comprehend her in the agreement; but, influenced by his oath, the artifice of the other finally prevailed, and he resigned her to him.

LXIII. In this manner Ariston, having repudiated his second wife, married a third, who in a very short time, and within a less period than ten months<sup>69</sup>, brought him this Demaratus. Whilst the

<sup>69</sup> *Within a less period than ten months.*]—This, it seems, was thought sufficient cause to suspect the legitimacy of a child. It is remarkable, that ten months is the period of gestation generally spoken of by the ancients.—See Plut. in the Life of Alcibiades; and Virgil, Ecl. iv.

Matri longa *decem* tulerunt fastidia menses.

A. Gellius, who gives a curious dissertation on the subject. l. iii. cap. 16, seems to pronounce very positively, that it was ten months fully completed; *decem menses non inceptos sed exactos*; but we should take the whole sentence together—*eumque esse hominem gignendi summum finem, decem menses non inceptos*

the father was sitting at his tribunal, attended by the Ephori, he was informed by one of his domestics of the delivery of his wife: reflecting on the interval of time which had elapsed since his marriage, he reckoned the number of months upon his fingers, and said with an oath, "This child is not mine." The Ephori, who heard him, did not at the moment esteem what he said of any importance<sup>70</sup>: afterwards, when the child grew up, Ariston changed his sentiments concerning the legitimacy of his son, and repented of the words

ceptos sed exactos. This I understand as if he had written, "but that the *utmost* period (not the *usual*) is when the tenth month is not only begun, but completed;" namely, when the child is born in the beginning of the eleventh month. To this effect he mentions afterwards a decision of the decemviri under Hadrian, that infants were born regularly in *ten months*, not in the eleventh; this however the emperor set aside, as not being an infallible rule. It appears then, that the ancients, when they spoke of ten months, meant that the tenth month was the time for the birth; and if they express themselves so as to make it appear that they meant ten months complete, it is because they usually reckoned inclusively. The difference between solar and lunar months, to which some have had recourse, does not remove any of the difficulty. Hippocrates speaks variously of the period of gestation, but seems to reckon the longest 280 days, or nine months and ten days. We are told that the ancient Persians, in the time of Zoroaster, counted into the age of a man the *nine* months of his conception.—*Sadder*, cited by M. de Pastoret, in a Treatise on Zoroaster, Confucius, and Mahomet.—*T*.

<sup>70</sup> *Of any importance.*]—The inattention or indifference of the Ephori in this instance must appear not a little remarkable, when it is considered that it was one part of their appropriate duty to watch over the conduct of their queens, in order to prevent the possibility of any children succeeding to the throne who were not of the family of Hercules.—*T*.

which



which had escaped him. Demaratus owed his name\* to the following circumstance: Before he was born the people had unanimously made a public supplication that Ariston, the best of their kings, might have a son.

LXIV. Ariston died, and Demaratus succeeded to his authority. But it seemed destined that the above expression should lose him his crown. He was in a particular manner odious to Cleomenes, both when he withdrew his army from Eleusis, and when Cleomenes passed over to Ægina, on account of the favour which the people of that place showed to the Medes.

LXV. Cleomenes being determined to execute vengeance on his rival, formed a connection with Leotychides, who was of the family of Demaratus, being the son of Menaris, and grandson of Agis: the conditions were, that Leotychides should succeed to the dignity of Demaratus, and should in return assist Cleomenes in his designs upon Ægina. Leotychides entertained an implacable animosity against Demaratus. He had been engaged to marry Percalos, the daughter of Chilon, grand-daughter of Demarmenes, but Demaratus insidiously prevented him, and by a mixture of violence and artifice married Percalos himself. He was therefore not at all reluctant to accede to the proposals of Cleomenes, and to assist him against Demaratus. He

\* *Owed his name;*]—which means prayed for by the people, being compounded of *Demos* the people, and *aretos* prayed for, —*T.*

asserted, therefore, that Demaratus did not lawfully possess the throne of Sparta, not being the son of Ariston. He was, consequently, careful to remember and repeat the expression which had fallen from Ariston, when his servant first brought him intelligence of the birth of a son; for, after computing the time, he had positively denied that he was his. Upon this incident Leotychides strongly insisted, and made no scruple of declaring openly, that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston, and that his authority was illegal<sup>71</sup>; to confirm this he adduced the testimony of those Ephori who were present when Ariston so expressed himself.

LXVI. As the matter began to be a subject of general dispute, the Spartans thought proper to consult the oracle of Delphi, whether Demaratus was the son of Ariston or not. Cleomenes was not at all suspected of taking any care to influence the Pythian; but it is certain that he induced Cobon, son of Aristophantes, a man of very great authority at Delphi, to prevail on the priestess to say what Cleomenes desired<sup>72</sup>. The name of this woman was

<sup>71</sup> *Was illegal.*]—This story is related with equal minuteness by Pausanias, book iii. c. 4; from whence we may conclude, that when there was even any suspicion of the infidelity of the queens, their children were incapacitated from succeeding to the throne.—See Pausanias also on a similar subject, book iii. chap. 8.—*T.*

<sup>72</sup> *To say what Cleomenes desired.*]—It is impossible sufficiently to lament the ignorance and delusion of those times, when an insidious expression, corruptly obtained from the Pythian, was sufficient

was Perialla, who, to those sent on this occasion, denied that Demaratus was the son of Ariston. This collusion being afterwards discovered, Cobon was compelled to fly from Delphi, and Perialla was degraded from her office.

### LXVII. Such were the measures taken to de-

ufficient to involve a whole kingdom in misery and blood : of this, the fate of Cræsus, as recorded in the first book of Herodotus, is a memorable instance ; but I have before me an example, in the *Stratagemata* of Polyænus, where this artifice and seduction of the Pythian had a contrary effect. It was by bribing the priests of Delphi that Lycurgus obtained from the Lacedæmonians an obedience, which rendered their nation great and powerful, and their legislator immortal. Demosthenes also, in one of his orations against Philip, accuses that monarch of seducing by bribes the oracle to his purpose. However the truth of this may be established from many well-authenticated facts, the following picture from Lucan, of the priestesses of Delphi under the supposed influence of the god, can never fail of claiming our applause and admiration, though we pity the credulity which regarded, and the spirit which prompted such impostures :

Tandem conterrita virgo  
 Confugit ad tripodas, vastisque adducta cavernis  
 Hæsit, et insueto concepit pectore numen,  
 Quod non exhaustæ per tot jam sæcula rupis,  
 Spiritus ingessit vati : tandemque potius  
 Pectore Cirrhæo, non unquam plenior artus  
 Phœbados irrupit Pæan, mentemque priorem  
 Expulit, atque hominem toto sibi cedere jussit  
 Pectore. Bacchatur demens aliena per antrum  
 Colla ferens, vittasque dei, Phœbeaque ferta  
 Erectis discussa comis, per inania templi  
 Ancipiti cervice rotat, spargitque vaganti  
 Obstantes tripodas, magnoque exæstuat igne.

7

prive

prive Demaratus of his dignity: an affront which was afterwards shown him, induced him to take refuge amongst the Medes. After the loss of his throne he was elected to preside in some inferior office, and happened to be present at the *Gymnopædia* <sup>73</sup>. Leotychides, who had been elected king in the room of Demaratus, meaning to ridicule and insult him, sent a servant to ask him what he thought of his present, compared with his former office. Demaratus, incensed by the question, replied, that he himself had experienced both, which the person who asked him had not; he added, that this question should prove the commencement of much calamity or happiness to Sparta. Saying this, with his head veiled, he retired from the theatre to his own house; where, having sacrificed an ox to Jupiter, he sent for his mother.

LXVIII. On her appearance, he placed in her hands the entrails of the victim, and solemnly addressed her in these words: "I call upon you, mother, in the name of all the gods, and in particular by Jupiter Hercæus <sup>74</sup>, in whose immediate

<sup>73</sup> *Gymnopædia*.]—This word is derived from γυμνος, naked, and παις, a child; at this feast naked children sung hymns in honour of Apollo, and of the three hundred who died at Thermopylæ. Athenæus describes it as a kind of Pyrrhic dance, in which the young men accompanied the motion of their feet with certain corresponding and graceful ones of their arms; the whole represented the real exercise of wrestling.—7.

<sup>74</sup> *Jupiter Hercæus*.]—Jupiter was worshipped under this title, as the Deus Penetrælis, the protector of the innermost recesses

“ diate presence we are, to tell me, without disguise,  
 “ who my father was. Leotychides, in the spirit of  
 “ hatred and jealousy, has objected to me, that  
 “ when you married Ariston you were with child  
 “ by your former husband: others more insolently  
 “ have asserted, that one of your slaves, an as-  
 “ driver, enjoyed your familiarity, and that I am  
 “ his son; I entreat you, therefore, by every thing  
 “ sacred, to disclose the truth. If you have really  
 “ done what is related of you, your conduct is not  
 “ without example, and there are many in Sparta  
 “ who believe that Ariston had not the power of  
 “ becoming a father; otherwise, they say, he must  
 “ have had children by his former wives.”

LXIX. His mother thus replied: “ My son, as  
 “ you have thus implored me to declare the truth,  
 “ I will not deceive you. When Ariston had con-  
 “ ducted me to his house, on the third night of our  
 “ marriage, a personage appeared ” to me perfectly  
 “ resembling

cesses of the house: he was so called from *ἔξωτος*, which signifies  
 the interior part of a house. Larcher quotes at this passage  
 the following words, from Servius on Virgil.

“ Dictus autem Jupiter Herceus quia ana ejus erat intra au-  
 lam, et septum parietem edificata quod Græce *ἔξωτος* dicitur.”  
 —7.

“ *A personage appeared.*]—This story in many respects bears  
 a resemblance to what is related in Grecian history of the birth  
 of Alexander the Great. The chastity of his mother Olympia  
 being in a similar manner questioned, the fiction of his being  
 the son of Jupiter, who conversed familiarly with his mother in  
 the form of a serpent, at first found advocates with the ignorant  
 and

resembling Arifton, who after enjoying my person, crowned me with a garland <sup>76</sup> he had in his hand, and retired. Soon afterwards Arifton came to me, and seeing me with a garland, enquired who gave it me; I said that he had, but this he seriously denied: I protested, however, that he had; and, I added, it was not kind in him to deny it, who, after enjoying my person, placed the garland on my head. Arifton, seeing that

and superstitious, and was afterwards confirmed and established by his career of conquest and glory. Of this fable no happier use has ever been made, than by Dryden, in his Ode on St. Cecilia's Day:

The song began from Jove,  
 Who left his blissful seats above;  
 Such is the power of mighty Love:  
 A dragon's fiery form belied the god;  
 Sublime on radiant spires he trod,  
 When he to fair Olympia press'd;  
 And while he sought her snowy breast,  
 Then round her slender waist he curl'd,

And stamp'd an image of himself, a sovereign of the world.

Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, informs us that a dragon was once seen to lie close to Olympia whilst she slept, after which her husband Philip, either suspecting her to be an enchantress, or imagining some god to be his rival, could never be induced to regard her with affection.—*T.*

<sup>76</sup> *Crowned me with a garland.*]—We learn from a passage in Ovid, not only that it was customary to wear garlands in convivial meetings, which other authors tell us in a thousand places, but that in the festive gaiety of the moment, it was not unusual for one friend to give them to another:

Huic si forte bibes, fortem concede priorem

Huic detur capiti dempta corona tuo.

*T.*

“ I persevered in my story, was satisfied that there  
 “ had been some divine interposition<sup>77</sup>; and this  
 “ opinion was afterwards confirmed, from its ap-  
 “ pearing that this garland had been taken from  
 “ the shrine of the hero Astrobacus, which stands  
 “ near the entrance of our house; and indeed a  
 “ soothsayer declared, that the personage I speak  
 “ of was that hero himself.—I have now, my son,  
 “ told you all that you wished to know; you are  
 “ either the son of Astrobacus, or of Ariston, for  
 “ that very night I conceived. Your enemies parti-  
 “ cularly object to you, that Ariston, when he first  
 “ heard of your birth, declared in the presence of  
 “ many that you could not possibly be his son, as  
 “ the time of ten months was not yet compleated;  
 “ but he said this from his ignorance of such mat-  
 “ ters. Some women are delivered at nine, others  
 “ at seven months; all do not go ten. I was de-

<sup>77</sup> *Divine interposition.*]—Innumerable instances occur in an-  
 cient history, from which we may conclude, that the passions of  
 intemperate but artful men did not fail to avail themselves of  
 the ignorance and superstitious credulity, with which the hea-  
 then world was overspread, to accomplish their dishonest pur-  
 poses. It were endless to specify examples in all respects  
 resembling this before us; but it may seem wonderful, that  
 their occurring so very often did not tend to awaken suspi-  
 cion, and interrupt their success. Some licentious minister of  
 the divine personage in question might easily crown himself  
 with a consecrated garland, avail himself of an imputed resem-  
 blance to the husband of the woman who had excited his passion,  
 and with no greater difficulty prevail on a brother priest to  
 make a declaration, which at the same time softened the crime  
 of the woman, and gratified her vanity.—T.

“ livered

“livered of you at seven; and Ariston himself afterwards confessed that he had uttered those words foolishly.—With regard to all other calumnies, you may safely despise them, and rely upon what I have said. As to the story of the ass-driver, may the wives of Leutychides, and of those who say such things, produce their husbands children from ass-drivers.”

LXX. Demaratus having heard all that he wished, took some provisions, and departed for Elis; he pretended, however, that he was gone to consult the oracle at Delphi. The Lacedæmonians suspected, and pursued him. Demaratus had already crossed from Elis to Zacynthus, where the Lacedæmonians still following him, seized his person and his servants; these they carried away, but the Zacynthians refusing to let them take Demaratus, he passed over to Asia, where he was honourably received by Darius, and presented with many lands and cities.—Such was the fortune of Demaratus, a man distinguished amongst his countrymen by many memorable deeds and sayings; and who alone, of all the kings of Sparta<sup>78</sup>, obtained the prize in the Olympic games, in the chariot-race of four horses.

<sup>78</sup> *Alone, of all the kings of Sparta.*—At this passage, Valenæer remarks, that these Spartan princes were probably of the opinion of Agesilaus, who, as is recorded in Plutarch, said, that the victories at these games were carried rather by riches than by merit.—T.



LXXI. Leutychides the son of Menaris, who succeeded Demaratus after he had been deposed, had a son named Zeuxidamus, called by some of the Spartans Cyniscus, or the whelp. He never enjoyed the throne of Sparta, but dying before his father, left a son named Archidamus. Leutychides, on the loss of his son, took for his second wife Eurydame, sister of Menius, and daughter of Diactoris; by her he had a daughter called Lampito, but no male offspring: she, by the consent of Leutychides, was married to Archidamus, son of Zeuxidamus.

LXXII. The latter days of Leutychides were not spent in Sparta; but the cause of Demaratus was in this manner avenged:—Leutychides commanded an army of his countrymen, in an expedition against Thessaly, and might have reduced the whole country; but suffering himself to be bribed by a large sum of money, he was detected in his own camp, sitting on a sack of money<sup>72</sup>. Being brought to a public

<sup>72</sup> *Sack of money.*]—"In the more ancient manuscripts," says Westling, "these two words were probably joined together, in this manner, χειριδιπλεις; whence the copyists made these two χειρι διπλεις, or διπλῆς, when it ought to have been χειριδιπλῆς."

Various errors of a similar kind have crept into modern editions of ancient books. I give one remarkable instance from Buchanan.

In the last chorus of the *Alcestes*, it was formerly read,

Και τὸν ἐν χαλεβοῖσι  
δαμαλῆς ἢ βίη σιδαρον :

Which

public trial, he was driven from Sparta, and his house razed<sup>30</sup>. He fled to Tegea, where he died; but the above events happened some time afterwards.

LXXIII. Cleomenes having succeeded in his designs upon Demaratus, took with him Leutychides, and proceeded against Ægina, with which he was exceedingly exasperated, on account of the insult he had received. The people of Ægina, on seeing themselves assailed by the two kings, did not meditate a long resistance; ten of the most illustrious and affluent were selected as hostages: amongst these were Crios, son of Polycritus, and Calambris, son of Aristocrates, men of considerable authority. Being carried to Attica, they there remained amongst their most inveterate enemies.

Which Buchanan accordingly rendered,

Tu ferrum sine vi domas  
Montes quod Chalybum creant

Whereas the reading ought to be,

Και τον εν χαλυβει  
Δαμαζει συ βια σιδαρον.

Ferrum vis tua perdomat  
Montes quod, &c.—See *Barnes*.

T.

<sup>30</sup> *His house razed.*]—This still constitutes part of the punishment annexed to the crime of high treason in France, and to great state crimes in many places. In the moment of popular fury, when violent resentment will not wait the slow determinations of the law to be appeased, it may admit of some extenuation; but that in a civilized people it should be a part of any legal decision, seems preposterous and unmeaning.—T.

LXXIV. Cleomenes afterwards fled to Thesfaly; for his treachery against Demaratus becoming manifest, he feared the resentment of the Spartans: from thence he went to Arcadia, where he endeavoured to raise a commotion, by stirring up the Arcadians against Sparta. Amongst other oaths, he exacted of them an engagement, to follow him wherever he should think proper to conduct them. He particularly wished to carry the principal men amongst them to the city of Nonacris, there to make them swear by the waters of Styx<sup>81</sup>.

These

<sup>81</sup> *Waters of Styx.*—It appears by this passage that the Greeks assembled at Nonacris to swear by the waters of Styx; when their oaths were to be considered as inviolable: the gods also swore by Styx, and it was the greatest oath they could use. “This water,” observes Pausanias, “is mortal to men and animals:” it was, doubtless, for this reason that it was said to be a fountain of the infernal regions. This water could not be preserved, but in a vessel made of the horn of a mule’s hoof. See Pliny, N. H. l. xxx. c. 16.—“Ungulas tantum mularum repertas neque aliam ullam materiam quæ non pernoderetur a veneno Stygis aquæ.” Pausanias gives the same efficacy to the horn of a horse’s hoof; and Plutarch to that of an ass.—*Larcher.*

A few particulars on this subject, omitted by Larcher, and less familiar perhaps to an English reader, I shall add to the above. Pliny says, it was remarkable for producing a fish, the taste of which was fatal. The solemnity with which the gods regarded the swearing by Styx, is mentioned by Virgil:

Stygiamque paludem  
Dii cælis jurare timent et fallere numen.

The sacred streams which heaven’s imperial state  
Attests in oaths, and fears to violate.

The

These waters are said to be found in this part of Arcadia: there is but little water, and it falls drop by drop from a rock into a valley, which is enclosed by a circular wall.—Nonacris is an Arcadian city, near Phereos.

LXXV. When the Lacedæmonians heard what Cleomenes was doing, through fear of the consequences they invited him back to Sparta, offering him his former dignity and station. Immediately on his return he was seized with madness, of which he had before discovered very strong symptoms: for whatever citizen he happened to meet, he scrupled not to strike him on the face with his sceptre<sup>82</sup>. This extravagant behaviour induced his

The circumstance of this oath being regarded by all the gods as inviolable, is mentioned by Homer, Hesiod, and all the more ancient writers: Homer calls it *δαιμότατον μανασσέστι*. The punishment supposed to be annexed to the perjury of gods in this instance, was that of being tortured 9,000 years in Tartarus.—See Servius on the 6th book of the *Æneid*.—*T*.

<sup>82</sup> *With his sceptre.*]—That princes and individuals of high rank carried their sceptres, or insignia of their dignity, frequently in their hands, may be concluded from various passages of ancient writers: many examples of this occur in Homer. When Thersites clamorously endeavoured to excite the Greeks to murmurs and sedition, Ulysses is described as striking him with the sceptre he had in his hand:

He said, and cowering as the dastard bends,  
The weighty sceptre on his back descends:  
On the round bunch the bloody tumours rise;  
The tears spring starting from his haggard eyes.

his friends to confine him in a pair of stocks; seeing himself, on some occasion, left with only one person to guard him, he demanded a sword; the man at first refused to obey him, but finding him persist in his request, he at length, being an Helot, and afraid of what he threatened, gave him one. Cleomenes, as soon as he received the sword, began to cut the flesh off his legs<sup>83</sup>; from his legs he ascended to his thighs, from his thighs to his loins, till at length, making gashes in his belly, he so died. The Greeks in general consider his death as occasioned by his having bribed the Pythian<sup>84</sup> to give an answer against Demaratus. The Athenians alone assert, that he was thus punished for hav-

The most ancient sceptre was probably a staff to rest upon, for Ovid describes Jupiter as resting upon his; it was a more ancient emblem of royalty than the crown: the first Roman who assumed the sceptre was Tarquin the Proud.—*T.*

<sup>83</sup> *Cut the flesh off his legs.*]—Longinus instances this and a similar passage in Herodotus, to shew how a mean action may be expressed in bold and lofty words; see section xxxi.—the word here used by Herodotus is *καταχορεύειν*. The other passage of Herodotus, alluded to by Longinus, is in book vii. c. 181. where three Grecian ships are described as resisting ten Persian vessels: speaking of Pythes, who commanded one of the former, he says, “that after his ship was taken, he persevered in fighting, *εἰς ὃ καταχρεγνύθη ἄπας*, or, as we should say in English, “till he was quite cut in pieces.”—*T.*

<sup>84</sup> *Having bribed the Pythian.*]—The disease of madness was frequently considered by the ancients as annexed by the gods to more atrocious acts of impiety and wickedness.—Orestes was struck with madness for killing his mother; Œdipus, for a similar crime; Ajax Oileus for violating the sanctity of a temple, &c.—*T.*

ing plundered the temple of the goddesses at Eleusis<sup>85</sup>. The Argives say, that it was because he had forced many of their countrymen from the refuge they had taken in a temple of Argos<sup>86</sup>, and had not only put them to the sword, but had impiously set fire to the sacred wood.

LXXVI. Cleomenes, upon consulting the Delphic oracle, had been told that he should certainly

<sup>85</sup> *Goddesses at Eleusis.*]—Ceres and Proserpine.

“ We turned to the south, into the plain Eleusis, which extends about a league every way; it is probably the plain called Rarion, where they say the first corn was sowed; there is a long hill, which divides the plain, extending to the east within a mile of the sea, and on the south side is not half a mile from it: at the east end of this hill the ancient Eleusis was situated. About a mile before we came to it, I saw the ruins of a small temple to the east, which might be that which was built at the threshing-floor of Triptolemus.

“ In the plain, near the north foot of the hill, are many pieces of stones and pillars, which probably are the remains of the temple of Diana Propylæa, which was before the gates of the city; and at the north foot of the hill, on an advanced ground, there are many imperfect ruins, pieces of pillars, and entablatures, and doubtless it is the spot of the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, &c.”—*Pococke*, ii. 170.

<sup>86</sup> *Temple of Argos.*]—This Argos was the son of Jupiter and Niobe daughter of Phoronea; he had given his name to Argos, and the territory he possessed. He had no temple, and perhaps not even a chapel; Pausanias speaks only of his monument, which doubtless stood in the wood consecrated to him.

This Argos was very different from him surnamed Panoptes, who had eyes in every part of his body: this was the son of Agenor, and great grandson of him of whom we speak.—*Larcher*.

become master of Argos: he accordingly led a body of Spartans to the river *Erasinus* <sup>87</sup>, which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake. This lake is believed to shew itself a second time in the territories of Argos, after disappearing for some time in an immense gulph; it is then called by the Argives, *Erasinus*. Arriving at this river, Cleomenes offered sacrifice to it: the entrails of the victim gave him no encouragement to pass the stream <sup>88</sup>, from which incident he affected to praise the river god for his attachment to his countrymen; but, nevertheless, vowed that the Argives should have no occasion to rejoice. From hence he advanced to Thyrea, where he sacrificed a bull to the Ocean <sup>89</sup>; and embarking his forces, proceeded to Tirynthia, and Nauplia.

<sup>87</sup> *Erasinus.*]—According to Strabo there was another river of this name; the one here mentioned is now called *Rasino*, and was called by Ovid “*ingens Erasinus*.”

Redditur Argolicis ingens Erasinus in agris. 7.

<sup>88</sup> *No encouragement to pass the stream.*]—In Lucan, when Cæsar arrived on the banks of the Rubicon, the genius of his country is represented as appearing to him, in order to dissuade him from his purpose.—The whole description is admirably beautiful.

<sup>89</sup> *A bull to the Ocean.*]—A bull was the usual victim to the *Dii Magni*. Horace represents one as sacrificed to Pluto; Virgil, to Neptune and Apollo; Homer, to the sea, and to rivers. It was not frequently, if it was ever sacrificed to Jupiter. Bacchus was sometimes worshipped with the head of a bull; and I have before observed, that the bull sacrificed to the Egyptian Typhon gave occasion to the golden calf of the Israelites.—7.

LXXVII. The Argives, hearing of this, advanced to the sea to repel him: as soon as they came to Tirynthus<sup>90</sup>, at a place called Sipia, they encamped in the Lacedæmonian territory, at no great distance from the enemy. They were not so much afraid of meeting their adversaries openly in the field, as of falling into an ambuscade: of this indeed they had been forewarned by the Pythian, in the declaration made jointly to the Milesians and themselves:

When<sup>91</sup> female hands the strength of man shall tame,  
 And among Argives gain a glorious name,  
 Women of Argos shall much grief display,  
 And thus shall one in future ages say:

<sup>90</sup> *Tirynthus.*]—From this place Hercules was sometimes called Tirynthius.

<sup>91</sup> *When.*]—The first part of this oracle is explained by what Pausanias and Plutarch, with little variation from each other, relate. The Argive women, taking arms under the conduct of Teterilla, repelled the attempts of Cleomenes on their city, with the loss of numbers of his men.—Plutarch, after relating the above, adds some circumstances so very whimsical, that I may well be excused inserting them. “Some assert,” says Plutarch, “that the above feat of the women was performed on the fourth of the month called Hermæus, when to this day they celebrate the feast called Ilybristica, when the women are clothed in the coats and breeches of men, and the men in the veils and petticoats of women.” He proceeds to say, that the women, to repair the want of men, having many of them lost their husbands, did not marry their servants, but first admitted the best of their neighbours to the rights of citizens, and afterwards married them. But on their reproaching and insulting these husbands, a law passed that new-married women, when they lay for the first time with their husbands, should wear beards.—T.

“A serpent



“ A serpent huge, which wreath’d its body round,  
 “ From a keen sword receiv’d a mortal wound.”

These incidents filled the Argives with the greatest terror ; they accordingly resolved to regulate their motions by the herald of the adverse army : as often, therefore, as this officer communicated any public order to the Lacedæmonians, they did the same.

LXXVIII. Cleomenes taking notice that the Argives observed what the herald of his army announced, directed that when the signal should be given for his soldiers to dine, they should immediately take their arms and attack the Argives. The Lacedæmonians upon this gave the signal for dinner, the Argives did the same ; but whilst they were engaged in eating, the enemy rushed upon them, slew a prodigious number, and surrounded many others, who escaping from the field, took refuge in the grove of Argos.

LXXIX. Whilst they remained here, Cleomenes determined on the following measure :—By means of some deserters, he learned the names of all those Argives who had escaped to this grove ; these he called out one by one, telling them that he had received their ransom : this in the Peloponnese, is a fixed sum, and is settled at two minæ for each captive. The number of the Argives was fifty, who as they respectively came out, when called, Cleomenes put to death. This incident was unknown to those who remained in the asylum, the thickness of the wood not allowing them  
 to

to see what passed. Till at length one getting up a tree, saw the transaction, after which no one appeared when called.

LXXX. Cleomenes then ordered his Helots to encompass the wood with materials for the purpose; and they obeying him, it was set on fire<sup>92</sup>. Whilst it was burning Cleomenes desired to know of one of the fugitives to what divinity that grove was sacred. He replied, to Argos. At this the Lacedæmonian in great agitation exclaimed—"O  
 " Apollo, thy prediction has misled me, promising  
 " that I should become master of Argos. Thy  
 " oracle has I fear no other termination."

LXXXI. Cleomenes afterwards permitted the greater part of his forces to return to Sparta; and reserving only a select body of a thousand men, he went to offer sacrifice at the temple of Juno. With-

<sup>22</sup> *Set on fire.*]—Mr. Maſon, in his admirable tragedy of *Caractacus*, has made an excellent uſe of the ſuppoſed ſanctity of the groves at Mona. The circumſtance of Cleomenes ſetting fire to the ſacred grove of Argos, bears in many inſtances a reſemblance to the burning of the groves of the Druids, by Aulus Didius, the Roman leader.

*Caradacus.*—Smile, my lov'd child, and imitate the sun,  
That rises ruddy from behind yon oaks,  
To hail your brother victor.

*Chorus.* That the sun !  
Oh horror, horror ! Sacrilegious fires  
Devour our groves : they blaze, they blaze—Oh, found  
The trump again, &c. 7.

ing

ing to perform the ceremonies himself on the altar, the priest forbade him, saying, it was a privilege granted to no foreigner. Upon this, he ordered the Helots to drag the priest from the altar<sup>93</sup>, and beat him. He then sacrificed, and afterwards returned to Sparta.

LXXXII. On his return, he was accused before the Ephori<sup>94</sup> of bribery, and of neglecting the opportunity he had of taking Argos. Whether the reply which Cleomenes made was true or false, I am not able to determine: he observed, that having taken possession of the temple of Argos, the prediction of the oracle seemed to him finally completed. He concluded therefore, that he ought not to make any farther attempts upon the city, till he should first be satisfied from his sacrifices whether the deity would assist or oppose him. When he was performing the sacred rites auspiciously in the

<sup>93</sup> *Drag the priest from the altar.*]—A similar act of violence is recorded by Plutarch of Alexander the Great. Wishing to consult the Delphic oracle concerning the success of his designs against Persia, he happened to go there at a time which was deemed inauspicious, and the Pythian refused to do her office. Alexander on this went to her himself, and by personal violence dragged her to the temple: fatigued with her exertions against him, she at length exclaimed, "My son, you are invincible." The Macedonian prince expressed himself perfectly satisfied with her answer, and assured his soldiers that it was unnecessary to consult the deity any more:—*T.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ephori.*]—The reader will remember that it was the particular office of the Ephori to watch the conduct of the Spartan kings.—*T.*

temple

temple of Juno, a flame of fire<sup>25</sup> burst from the bottom of the sacred image, which entirely convinced him that he should not take Argos. If this flame had issued from the head, he should have taken the place by storm, but its coming from the breast decisively declared that all the purposes of the deity were accomplished. His defence appeared plausible and satisfactory to his countrymen, and he was acquitted by a great majority.

LXXXIII. Argos however was deprived of so many of its citizens, that the slaves usurped the management of affairs, and executed the offices of government: but when the sons of those who had been slain grew up, they obtained possession of the city, and after some contest expelled the slaves, who retired to Tyrinthes, which they seized. They for a time forebore to molest each other, till Cleander, a soothsayer and an Arcadian, of the district

<sup>25</sup> *Flame of fire.*]—The appearance of fire self-kindled was generally deemed amongst the ancients an auspicious omen; but, like all other prodigies and modes of divination, they varied their conclusions concerning it according to the different circumstances and places in which it appeared. According to Pliny, Amphiaraus was the first inventor of divination by fire.

Aruspicium Delphus invenit, ignispicia Amphiaraus, auspicia avium Tiresias Thebanus, interpretationem ostentorum et somniorum Amphietyon.

Delphus was the inventor of divination by the entrails of beasts, Amphiaraus of that by fire, Tiresias the Theban of that of birds, and Amphietyon of the interpretation of prodigies and dreams.—T.

of Phigafis, coming amongst them, he persuaded the slaves to attack their masters. A tedious war followed, in which the Argives were finally, though with difficulty, victorious.

LXXXIV. The Argives affirm, that on account of the things before mentioned Cleomenes lost his reason, and came to a miserable end. The Spartans, on the contrary, will not allow his madness to have been occasioned by any divine interposition; they say, that by communicating with the Scythians<sup>96</sup> he became a drinker of wine, and that  
this

<sup>96</sup> *Communicating with the Scythians.*]—See this story referred to in Athenæus, book x. c. 7; from whence we learn that *επισκυθισαι*, or to imitate the Scythians, became proverbial for intemperate drinking. A curious fragment is there also preserved from Achæus:

Μὲν ἀχιλῶς τὴν κεκραμένους πολὺς,  
ἀλλὰ δὲ ληξαι τὸ δὲ τῷ γέει θεμῖς  
Καλῶς μὲν ἐν ἀγείν σκυθισί πινειν.

See also the Adagia of Erasmus, upon the word *Episcythizare*. Hard drinking was in like manner characteristic of the Thracians.—See Horace:

Natis in usum lætitiæ Scyphis  
Pugnare Thracum est: tollite barbarum  
Morem, verecundumque Bacchum  
Sanguineis prohibete rixis. L. i. 27.

Again, the same author,

Non ego sanius  
Bacchabor Edonis. L. ii. 7.

Upon

this made him mad. The Scythian Nomades, after the invasion of their country by Darius, determined on revenge: with this view they sent ambassadors to form an alliance with the Spartans. It was accordingly agreed, that the Scythians should invade the country of the Medes, by the side of the Phasis: the Spartans, advancing<sup>97</sup> from Ephesus, were to do the same, till the two armies formed a junction. With the Scythians sent on this business Cleomenes is said to have formed too great an intimacy, and thence to have contracted a habit of drinking, which injured the faculties of his mind. From

Upon the word Scyphis, in the first quotation, it may not be improper to remark, that Athenæus doubts whether the word *σκυφός*, scyphus, a bowl, quasi *σκυθός*, scythus, be not derived from Scythis. The effect of intemperate drinking is well described in the Solomon of Prior:

I drank, I lik'd it not—'twas rage, 'twas noise,  
An airy scene of transitory joys:  
In vain I trusted that the flowing bowl  
Would banish sorrow, and enlarge the soul.  
To the late revel and protracted feast  
Wild dreams succeeded, and disorder'd rest.

\* \* \* \* \*

Add yet unnumber'd ills, that lie unseen  
In the pernicious draught; the word obscene  
Or harsh, which, once elanc'd, must ever fly  
Irrevocable; the too prompt reply,  
Seed of severe distrust, and fierce debate,

What we should shun, and what we ought to hate.—T.

<sup>97</sup> *Advancing.*]—The word in Greek is *αναβαιναι*; and Larcher remarks, that this word is used in almost all the historians, for to advance from the sea, and that therefore the retreat of the ten thousand was called by Xenophon the *Αναβασις*. The illustration is, however, rather unfortunate, as the return of Xenophon was not from the sea, but from Cunaxa, an inland place on the Euphrates, to the sea at Trapezus, &c.—T.

which incident, whoever are desirous to drink intemperately, are said to exclaim Episcythison, "Let us drink like Scythians."—Such is the Spartan account of Cleomenes. To me, however, he seems to have been an object of the divine vengeance, on account of Demaratus.

LXXXV. The people of Ægina no sooner received intelligence of his death, than they dispatched emissaries to Sparta, to complain of Leutychides, for detaining their hostages at Athens. The Lacedæmonians, after a public consultation, were of opinion that Leutychides had greatly injured the inhabitants of Ægina; and they determined that he should be given up to them, and be carried to Ægina, instead of such of their countrymen as were detained at Athens. They were about to lead him away, when Theasides, son of Leopropis, a Spartan of approved worth, thus addressed them: "Men of Ægina, what would you do? would you take away a Spartan prince, whom his countrymen have given up? Although the Spartans have in anger come to this resolution, do ye not fear that they will one day, if you persist in your purpose, utterly destroy your country?" This expostulation induced the Æginetæ to change their first intentions: they nevertheless insisted that Leutychides should accompany them to Athens, and set their countrymen at liberty.

LXXXVI. When Leutychides arrived at Athens, and claimed the hostages, the Athenians, who were unwilling to give them up, demurred.—  
They

They said, that as the two kings had jointly confided these men to their care, it would be unfair to give them up to one of them. Upon their final refusal to surrender them, Leutyehides thus addressed them: " In this business, Athenians, " you will do what you please; if you give up " these men, you will act justly, if you do not, you " will be dishonest. I am desirous however to relate " to you what once happened in Sparta upon a similar occasion: We have a tradition amongst us, that " about three ages ago there lived in Lacedæmon a " man named Glaucus, the son of Epicydes; he " was famous amongst his countrymen for many " excellent qualities, and in particular for his integrity. We are told, that in process of time a " Milesian came to Sparta, purposely to solicit this " man's advice. ' I am come,' said he, addressing " him, ' from Miletus, to be benefited by your justice, the reputation of which, circulating through " Greece, has arrived at Ionia. I have compared " the insecure condition of Ionia with the undisturbed tranquillity of the Peloponnese; and observing that the wealth of my countrymen is constantly fluctuating, I have been induced to adopt " this measure: I have converted half of my property into money, which, from the confidence of " its being perfectly secure, I propose to deposit in " your hands; take it therefore, and with it these " private marks; to the person who shall convince " you that he knows them you will return it.' The " Milesian here finished, and Glaucus accepted his " money upon these conditions. After a long interval of time the sons of the above Milesian came



“ to Sparta, and presenting themselves before Glau-  
 “ cus produced the test agreed upon, and claimed  
 “ the money. He however rejected the application  
 “ with anger, and assured them that he remembered  
 “ nothing of the matter. ‘ If,’ says he, ‘ I should  
 “ hereafter be able to recollect the circumstance  
 “ you mention, I will certainly do you justice, and  
 “ restore that which you say I have received. If,  
 “ on the contrary, your claim has no foundation, I  
 “ shall avail myself of the laws of Greece against  
 “ you: I therefore invite you to return to me again,  
 “ after a period of four months.’ The Milesians  
 “ accordingly departed in sorrow, considering them-  
 “ selves cheated of their money: Glaucus, on the  
 “ other hand, went to consult the oracle at Delphi.  
 “ On his enquiring whether he might absolve him-  
 “ self from returning the money by an oath, the  
 “ priestess made him this reply:

“ Glaucus<sup>98</sup>, thus much by swearing you may gain,  
 “ Thro’ life the gold you safely may retain :  
 “ Swear then—rememb’ring that the awful grave  
 “ Confounds alike the honest man and knave ;  
 “ But still an oath a nameless offspring bears,  
 “ Which tho’ no feet it has, no arm uprears,  
 “ Swiftly

<sup>98</sup> *Glaucus, son of Epicydes.*]—The words of this oracle, as has been observed by many writers, and in particular by Grotius, may well be compared to a passage in Zechariah, v. 1.

“ I looked, and behold, a flying roll.—Then said he unto me, This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth:—and it shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name: and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it, with the timber thereof, and the stones thereof.”

“ Swiftly the perjur’d villain will o’ertake;  
 “ And of his race entire destruction make;  
 “ Whilst their descendants, who their oath regard,  
 “ Fortune ne’er fails to favour and reward.

“ On

The story of Glaucus is also well introduced by Juvenal,  
 Sat. xiii.

Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates,  
 Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret  
 Depositum retinere et fraudem jure tuere  
 Jurando. Quærebat enim quæ numinis esset  
 Mens et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo.  
 Reddidit ergo metu, non moribus et tamen omnem  
 Vocem adyti dignam templo, veramque probavit  
 Exstinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque  
 Et quamvis longa deductis gente propinquis  
 Has petitur pœnas peccandi sola voluntas.

See also Jortin’s Discourses on the Christian Religion.

“ Josephus says, that Antiochus Epiphanes, as he was dying, confessed that he suffered for the injuries which he had done to the Jews. Then he adds, I wonder how Polybius could say that Antiochus perished because he had purposed to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia; *for to intend the thing only, and not perform it, is not worthy of punishment.*—Το γὰρ μήκετι ποιῆσαι τὸ ἔργον βουλευσάμενον ἢ ἐστὶ τιμωρίας ἀξίον.”

How contrary to this sentiment of Josephus is the positive declaration of Jesus Christ!

“ But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.”

I cannot properly omit relating in this place a story from Stobæus, somewhat of a similar nature with this before us.—Larcher has done the same.

Archetimus of Erythræa, in Ionia, deposited at Tenedos, in the hands of his friend Cydias, a considerable sum of money. Having demanded it to be returned, the other denied that he had it; and as the dispute grew warm, it was agreed that in three days he should purge himself by an oath. This time was

“ On this reply, Glaucus entreated the deity to for-  
 “ give him; but he was told by the priestess, that the  
 “ intention and the action were alike criminal. Glau-  
 “ cus then sent for the Milesians, and restored the  
 “ money.—My motive, Oh Athenians, for making  
 “ you this relation, remains to be told. At the present  
 “ day no descendant of Glaucus, nor any traces of  
 “ his family, are to be found; they are utterly extir-  
 “ pated from Sparta. Wherever therefore a trust  
 “ has been reposed, it is an act of wisdom to restore  
 “ it when demanded.”——Leutychides, finding  
 that what he said made no impression upon the  
 Athenians, left the place.

LXXXVII. Before the *Æginetæ* had suffered  
 for the insults formerly offered to the Athenians,  
 with the intention of gratifying the Thebans, they  
 had done the following act of violence:—Exaspe-  
 rated against the Athenians for some imagined in-  
 jury, they prepared to revenge themselves. The  
 Athenians had a quinquereme stationed at Sunium;  
 of this vessel, which was the *Theoris*<sup>99</sup>, and full  
 of

employed by Cydias in making hollow a cane, in which he  
 placed the gold of Archetimus; and the better to conceal his  
 fraud, he covered the handle of it with a thick bandage of  
 linen. On the appointed day he left his house, resting on this  
 cane, as if indisposed; and arriving at the temple, he placed the  
 cane in the hands of Archetimus, whilst he elevated his own,  
 and swore that he had returned to him the deposit confided to  
 him. Archetimus in anger dashed the cane on the ground: it  
 broke in pieces, the gold fell out, and exposed to the eyes of  
 the spectators the perfidy of Cydias, who died prematurely.—T.

<sup>99</sup> *The Theoris.*]—This was a vessel which was every year

of the most illustrious Athenians, they by some artifice obtained possession, and put all whom they found in her in irons. The Athenians instantly meditated the severest vengeance.

LXXXVIII. There was at Ægina a man greatly esteemed, the son of Cnoëthus, his name Nicodromus. From some disgust against his countrymen he had some time before left the island: hearing that the Athenians were determined on the ruin of Ægina, he agreed with them on certain conditions to deliver it into their hands. He appointed a particular day for the execution of his measures, when they also were to be ready to assist

sent to Delos to offer sacrifice to Apollo, in consequence of a vow which Theseus had made at his departure for Crete. As soon as the festival celebrated on this occasion was begun, they purified the place, and it was an inviolable law to put no person to death till this vessel should be returned; and it was sometimes a great while on its passage, particularly when the wind was contrary. The festival called Theoria commences when the priest of Apollo has crowned the prow of the vessel. Theoros was the name of the person sent to offer sacrifice to some god, or consult an oracle; it was given to distinguish such persons from those charged with commissions on civil affairs, who were called *Πρόβουλοι*.—*Larcher*.

See a very poetical description of the arrival of a Theoris at Delos, in the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, vi. 417, 418.

“ On appercevoit dans l'éloignement la Theorie des Athéniens. Telles que les filles de Nérée, lorsqu'elles suivent sur les flots le char de la souveraine des mers, une foule de bâtimens légers se jouoient autour de la galere sacrée. Leurs voiles, plus éclatantes que la neige, brilloient comme les cygnes qui agitent leurs ailes sur les eaux du Caïstre et du Meandre, &c.”—

him. He proceeded in his purpose, and made himself master of what is called the old city.

LXXXIX. The Athenians were not punctual to their engagement; they were not prepared with a fleet able to contend with that of Ægina; and in the interval of their applying to the Corinthians for a reinforcement of ships, the favourable opportunity was lost. The Corinthians, being at that time on very friendly terms with the Athenians, furnished them, at their request, with twenty ships<sup>100</sup>: as their laws forbade them to give these ships, they sold them their allies for five drachmæ each. With these, which in addition to their own made a fleet of seventy ships, the Athenians sailed to Ægina, where however they did not arrive till a day after the time appointed,

XC. The Athenians not appearing as had been stipulated, Nicodromus, accompanied by many of the Æginetæ, fled in a vessel from Ægina. The Athenians assigned Sunium for their residence, from whence they occasionally issued to harrafs and plunder the people of Ægina; but these things happened afterwards.

XCI. The principal citizens of Ægina having overpowered such of the common people as had

<sup>100</sup> *With twenty ships.*]—The Corinthians reproached the Athenians with this act of kindness, when they afterwards discovered an inclination to assist the Coreyreans.—See *Thucydides*, l. i. c. 41.—*Larcher*.

taken the part of Nicodromus against them, they proceeded to put their prisoners to death. On this occasion they committed an act of impiety, to atone for which all their earnest endeavours were unavailing; and before they could conciliate the goddesses, they were driven from the island. As they were conducting to execution seven hundred of the common people, whom they had taken alive, one of them, escaping from his chains, fled to the vestibule of the temple of Ceres Thesinophoros, and seizing the hinges of the door, held them fast: unable to make him quit his hold, they cut off his hands<sup>101</sup>, and dragged him away. His hands remained adhering to the valves of the door.

XCII. After the Æginetæ had thus punished their domestic enemies, the seventy vessels of the Athenians appeared, whom they engaged, and were conquered. In consequence of their defeat they applied a second time to the Argives for assistance, which was refused, and for this reason: they complained that the ships of the Æginetæ which Cleomenes had violently seized, had, in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians, made a descent upon their coast; to which act of violence some Sicyonian vessels had also contributed. For this the Argives had demanded, by way of compensation, a thousand talents, of which each nation was to pay five hundred. The Sicyonians apologized for their misconduct, and paying one hundred talents were excused the rest. The Æginetæ were too proud to

<sup>101</sup> Cut off his hands.]—See *Hume's Essays*, vol. ii. 462.

make any concessions. The Argives therefore to their application for assistance refused any public countenance, but a body of about a thousand volunteers went over to them, under the conduct of Eurybates, a man very skilful in the contests of the Pentathlon. The greater part of these returned no more, but were slain by the Athenians at Ægina. Eurybates their leader, victorious in three different single combats, was killed in a fourth, by Sophanes, a Decelian.

XCIII. The Æginetæ, taking advantage of some confusion on the part of the Athenians, attacked their fleet, and obtained a victory, taking four of their ships, with all their crews.

XCIV. Whilst these two nations were thus engaged in hostilities, the domestic of the Persian monarch continued regularly to bid him "Remember the Athenians"<sup>102</sup>, which incident was farther enforced by the unremitting endeavours of the Pi-

<sup>102</sup> *Remember the Athenians.*]—This incident will necessarily bring to the mind of the reader what is related of the Macedonian Philip; who to prevent pride and insolence taking too entire a possession of his heart, from his victories and great prosperity, enjoined a domestic every morning to exclaim to him, "Remember, Philip, thou art a man." The word "Remember" is memorable in English history. It was the last word pronounced by Charles the first to Dr. Juxon on the scaffold. Dr. Juxon gave a plausible answer to the ministers of Cromwell, who interrogated him on the subject; but many are still of opinion, that it involved some mystery never known but by the individuals to whom it immediately related.—T.

fistratidæ to criminate that people. The king himself was very glad of this pretext effectually to reduce such of the Grecian states as had refused him "earth and water." He accordingly removed from his command Mardonius, who had been unsuccessful in his naval undertakings; he appointed two other officers to commence an expedition against Eretria and Athens; these were Datis<sup>103</sup>, a native of Media, and Artaphernes his nephew, who were commanded totally to subdue both the above places, and to bring the inhabitants captive before him.

XCV. These commanders, as soon as they had received their appointment, advanced to Aleium in Cilicia, with a large and well-provided body of infantry. Here, as soon as they encamped, they were joined by a numerous reinforcement of marines, agreeably to the orders which had been given. Not long afterwards those vessels arrived to take the cavalry on board, which in the preceding year Darius had commanded his tributaries to supply. The horse and foot immediately embarked, and proceeded to Ionia, in a fleet of six hundred triremes. They did not, keeping along the coast, advance in a right line to Thrace and the Hellespont,

<sup>103</sup> *Datis.*]—This officer, in the exultation which attended his first successes, exclaimed *ὡς ἠδομαι, καὶ τεύχομαι, καὶ χαίρομαι.* *Χαίρομαι* is a barbarism, for the Greeks always say *χαίρω*. This kind of barbarisms were afterwards called *Datisms*. See the Peace of Aristophanes, verse 290; and the observation of the Scholiast on 288.—*Larcher.*



but loosing from Samos, they passed through the midst of the islands, and the Icarian sea<sup>104</sup>, fearing, as I should suppose, to double the promontory of Athos, by which they had in the former year severely suffered. They were farther induced to this course by the island of Naxos, which before they had omitted to take.

XCVI. Proceeding therefore from the Icarian sea to this island, which was the first object of their enterprize, they met with no resistance. The Naxians, remembering their former calamities, fled in alarm to the mountains. Those taken captive were made slaves, the sacred buildings and the city were burned. This done, the Persians sailed to the other islands.

XCVII. At this juncture the inhabitants of Delos deserted their island, and fled to Tenos. To Delos the Persian fleet was directing its course, when Datis, hastening to the van, obliged them to station themselves at Rhenea, which lies beyond it. As soon as he learned to what place the Delians had retired, he sent a herald to them with this message:—"Why, oh sacred people, do you fly, thinking so injuriously of me? If I had not received particular directions from the king my master to this effect, I, of my own accord, would never

<sup>104</sup> *Icarian sea.*]—The story of Dædalus and Icarus, and that the Icarian sea was so named from its being the supposed grave of Icarus, must be sufficiently notorious:

Icarus Icaris nomina fecit aquis.—*Ovid.*

T.

“ have molested you, nor offered violence<sup>105</sup> to a  
 “ place in which two deities<sup>106</sup> were born. Re-  
 “ turn therefore, and inhabit your island as before.”  
 Having sent this message, he offered upon one of  
 their altars incense to the amount of three hundred  
 talents.

XCVIII. After this measure, Datis led his whole  
 army against Eretria, taking with him the Ionians  
 and Æolians. The Delians say, that at the mo-  
 ment of his departure the island of Delos was af-  
 fected by a tremulous motion<sup>107</sup>, a circumstance  
 which, as the Delians affirm, never happened before  
 or since. The deity, as it should seem by this pro-  
 digy, forewarned mankind<sup>108</sup> of the evils which  
 were

<sup>105</sup> *Offered violence.*]—On this subject, from the joint autho-  
 rities of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Callimachus, the Abbé Bar-  
 thelemy expresses himself thus:—

“ Les fureurs des barbares, les haines des nations, les inimi-  
 tiés particulières tombent à l’aspect de cette terre sacrée.—Les  
 coursiers de Mars ne la foulent jamais de leurs pieds enfan-  
 glantes.—Tout ce que présente l’image de la guerre en est se-  
 verement banni: on n’y souffre pas même l’animal le plus fi-  
 dele à l’homme, parce qu’il y détruiroit des animaux plus foibles  
 et plus timides; enfin la paix a choisi Delos pour son séjour,  
 &c.”—Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. According to Strabo, it  
 was not permitted to have dogs at Delos, because they destroyed  
 hares and rabbits.

<sup>106</sup> *Two deities.*]—Apollo and Diana.

<sup>107</sup> *Tremulous motion.*]—Thucydides relates that this island  
 was affected by an earthquake at the commencement of the  
 Peloponnesian war, but that in the memory of man this had  
 never happened before. Larcher is of opinion that Herodotus  
 and Thucydides may speak of the same fact. Wesseling thinks  
 the same.—T.

<sup>108</sup> *Forewarned mankind.*]—See the beautiful use which Vir-  
 gil

were about to happen. Greece certainly\* suffered more and greater calamities during the reigns of Darius son of Hyftaspes, Xerxes son of Darius, and Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, than in all the preceding twenty generations; these calamities arose partly from the Persians, and partly from the contentions for power amongst its own great men. It was not therefore without reason that Delos, immoveable before, should then be shaken, which event indeed had been predicted by the oracle:

“ Although Delos be immoveable, I will shake it.”

It is also worth observation, that, translated into the Greek tongue\*, Darius signifies one who compels, Xerxes a warrior, Artaxerxes a great warrior; and

gil in his first Georgic has made of the credulity of mankind with respect to prognostics; and in particular his episode on those supposed to precede the death of Julius Cæsar:

Sol tibi signa dabit. Solem quis dicere falsum  
Audeat, &c. 464. &c.

See also the prodigies described by Lucan, as preceding the battle of Pharsalia:

Tum ne qua futuri  
Spes saltem trepidas mentes levet, addita fati  
Pejoris manifesta fides, superique minaces  
Prodigiis terras implerunt, æthera, pontum, &c. T.

\* *Into the Greek tongue.*]—The original says, “these names in the Greek tongue mean,” &c. which seems to imply that the words are themselves significant in Greek, which is not the case; it should surely be “in the Persian tongue,” *κατὰ Περσίδα γλῶσσαν*, otherwise the expression is incorrect, and the remainder of the sentence tautological, and indeed nonsensical.—Hyde, Bochart, and others, have treated of these terms of the old Persic.

thus

thus they would call them if they used the corresponding terms.

XCIX. The barbarians, sailing from Delos to the other islands, took on board reinforcements from them all, together with the children of the inhabitants as hostages. Cruizing round the different islands, they arrived off Carystos<sup>109</sup>; but the people of this place positively refused either to give hostages, or to serve against their neighbours, Athens and Eretria. They were consequently besieged, and their lands wasted; and they were finally compelled to surrender themselves to the Persians.

C. The Eretrians, on the approach of the Persian army, applied to the Athenians for assistance; this the Athenians did not think proper to withhold, they accordingly sent them the four thousand men to whom those lands had been assigned which formerly belonged to the Chalcidian cavalry; but the Eretrians, notwithstanding their application to the Athenians, were far from being firm and determined. They were so divided in their resolutions, that whilst some of them advised the city to be deserted, and a retreat made to the rocks of Eubœa<sup>110</sup>, others,

<sup>109</sup> *Carystos*.]—This place is now called Caristo, and is one of the Cyclades. It was anciently famous for its variegated marble.—T.

<sup>110</sup> *Rocks of Eubœa*.]—These are what Virgil calls

*Euhoicæ cautes ultorque Caphareus.*

Heyne's observation on this passage of Virgil is sufficiently explicit and satisfactory.—“*Promontorium Eubœæ versus orientem*

others, expecting a reward from the Persians, prepared to betray their country<sup>111</sup>. Æschines, the son

tem Ο Καφνεύς propter latentia sub undâ saxa et vortices manesque æstum, imprimis naufragia Græcorum a Troja redeuntium infame."

His explanation of the word *ultor* is not so. *Ullor*, says he, is only added as an ornament, to denote that the rock was destructive, tanquam calamitosum saxum. Servius explains it by the story of Nauplius, who, incensed at the Greeks for the loss of his son Palamedes (who was put to death by the stratagems of Ulysses) made this rock the instrument of his vengeance. He placed a light upon it, which in the evening deluding their fleet, caused the shipwreck of numbers of their vessels.—See Propertius :

Nauplius ultores sub noctem porrigit ignes  
Et natat exuviis Græcia pressa suis.

This however, is not quite right, for the context plainly shews that the revenge of Minerva against Ajax Oileus was present to the poet's mind when he wrote the epithet *ultor*; the remark of Heyne is therefore absurd. The following passage from Ovid is as complete a comment on this of Virgil, as if it had been written on purpose :

—postquam alta cremata est  
Ilion; et Danaas paverunt Pergama flammæ;  
Naryciusque Heros, a virgine, virgine raptâ,  
Quam meruit solus pœnam digessit in omnes;  
Spargimur, et ventis inimica per æquora rapti  
Fulmina, noctem, imbres, iram cœlique marisque  
Perpetimur Danaï, Cumulum que Capharea cladis.

*Met.* xiv. 466.

If the inhabitants of Caristus had retired, says Larcher, to this place, they would have had little to apprehend from the Persians, whose fleet durst not have attacked them amongst rocks so very dangerous.—*T.*

<sup>111</sup> *Betray their country.*]—Gorgylus, the only Eretrian who had taken part with the Persians, as Xenophon affirms, had for his reward the cities of Gambrium, Palægambrium, Myrina, and Grynia. Gorgion and Gorgylus, his descendants, were

son of Nothos, an Eretrian of the highest rank, observing these different sentiments, informed the Athenians of the state of affairs, advising them to return home, lest they should be involved in the common ruin. The Athenians attended to this advice of Æschines, and by passing over to Oropus, escaped the impending danger.

CI. The Persians arriving at Eretria, came near to Temenos<sup>112</sup>, Chæreas, and Ægilia; making themselves masters of these places, they disembarked the horse, and prepared to attack the enemy. The Eretrians did not think proper to advance and engage them; the opinion for defending the city had prevailed, and their whole attention was occupied in preparing for a siege. The Persians endeavoured to storm the place, and a contest of six days was attended with very considerable loss on both sides. On the seventh, the city was betrayed to the enemy by two of the more eminent citizens, Euphorbus son of Alcimachus, and Philagrus son of Cyneas. As soon as the Persians got possession of the place, they pillaged and burned the temples to avenge the burning of their temples at Sardis. The people, according to the orders of Darius, were made slaves<sup>113</sup>.

## CII.

in possession of them in the 95th Olympiad, when Thymbron, a Lacedæmonian general, passed into Asia Minor to make war on Persia.—*Larcher*.

<sup>112</sup> *Near to Temenos.*]—The Greek is *κατὰ τεμένος*; if this had signified a temple, it would have been *κατὰ τὸ τεμένος*. See the notes of Wesseling and Valcnaer.—*T*.

<sup>113</sup> *Were made slaves.*]—The first slaves were doubtless those

CII. After this victory at Eretria, the Persians staid a few days, and then sailed to Attica, driving all before them, and thinking to treat the Athenians as they had done the Eretrians. There was a place in Attica called Marathon, not far from Eretria, well adapted for the motions of cavalry: to this place therefore they were conducted by Hippias, son of Pisistratus.

CIII. As soon as the Athenians heard this, they advanced to the same spot, under the conduct of ten leaders, with the view of repelling force by force. The last of these was Miltiades. His father Cimon, son of Stefagoras, had been formerly driven from Athens by the influence of Pisistratus<sup>114</sup>, son of Hippocrates. During his exile, he had obtained the prize at the Olympic games, in the chariot race

made captive in war. By the injunction of Darius, so often repeated in Herodotus, and, as we perceive, so strictly enforced, we may understand that the Greeks here taken captive were obliged, in menial occupations, to wait on the persons of their conquerors. Darius in general treated his captives with extraordinary lenity; it was only against the Greeks, who had in a particular manner provoked his indignation, that we find him thus particular in his severity to those taken prisoners.—T.

<sup>114</sup> *Pisistratus*.]—I have in different places related many anecdotes of this Pisistratus; I have one now before me in *Ælian*, which ought not to be omitted. If he met any person who seemed to be idle, he asked him why he was unemployed? If, he would say, your oxen are dead, take mine, and go to your usual business in the field; if you want seed, take some of mine. This he did, says *Ælian*, lest the idleness of these people should prompt them to raise seditious plots against him.  
—T.

of four horses. This honour, however, he transferred<sup>115</sup> to Miltiades his uterine brother. At the Olympic games which next followed, he was again victorious, and with the same mares. This honour he suffered to be assigned to Pisistratus, on condition of his being recalled; a reconciliation ensued, and he was permitted to return. Being victorious a third time, on the same occasion, and with the same mares, he was put to death by the sons of Pisistratus, Pisistratus himself being then dead. He was assassinated in the night, near Prytaneum, by some villains sent for the purpose: he was buried in the approach to the city, near the hollow way; and in the same spot were interred the mares<sup>116</sup> which had three times obtained the prize at the Olympic games. If we except the mares of Evagoras of Sparta, none other ever obtained a similar honour. At this period, Stesagoras, the eldest son of Cimon, resided

<sup>115</sup> *He transferred.*]—This thing we find it was a frequent practice to do. From Pausanias we learn a singular fact; that they who obtained the prize at wrestling, being unable to substitute any person in their room, were accustomed to take bribes to declare themselves natives of places to which they did not belong. The same author informs us, that Dionysius the tyrant frequently sent agents to Olympia, to bribe the conquerors to declare themselves natives of Syracuse. It is proper to add, that they who were mean enough thus to sacrifice the glory of their country to their avarice, or perhaps, as it might occasionally happen, their pride, were subject to the punishment of exile from those cities to which they did really belong.—T.

<sup>116</sup> *Interred the mares.*]—See this fact mentioned by Ælian in his History of Animals, l. xii. c. 40.: Where we are also told, that Evagoras, mentioned in the subsequent paragraph, in like manner buried his victorious horses.—T.



in the Chersonese with his uncle Miltiades; the youngest was brought up at Athens under Cimon himself, and named Miltiades, from the founder of the Chersonese.

CIV. This Miltiades, the Athenian leader, in advancing from the Chersonese, escaped from two incidents which alike threatened his life: as far as Imbros he was pursued by the Phœnicians, who were exceedingly desirous to take him alive, and present him to the king; on his return home, where he thought himself secure, his enemies accused, and brought him to a public trial, under pretence of his aiming at the sovereignty of the Chersonese; from this also he escaped, and was afterwards chosen a general of the Athenians, by the suffrages of the people.

CV. The Athenian leaders, before they left the city, dispatched Phidippides<sup>117</sup> to Sparta: he was an Athenian by birth, and his daily employment was to deliver messages. To this Phidippides, as he himself affirmed, and related to the Athenians, the god Pan appeared on mount Parthenius<sup>118</sup>, which

<sup>117</sup> *Phidippides*.]—This name is differently written, Phidippides and Philippides.

<sup>118</sup> *Mount Parthenius*.]—This place was so named, quasi Virgineus, from the virgins who there offered sacrifice to Venus, or enjoyed the exercise of hunting. Pausanias, in his eighth book, speaks of a temple here erected to Pan, “in the very place,” says he, “where the god appeared to Phidippides, and gave him some important advice.”—7.

is beyond Tegea. The deity called him by his name, and commanded him to ask the Athenians why they so entirely neglected him <sup>119</sup>, who not only wished them well, but who had frequently rendered them service, and would do so again. All this the Athenians believed, and as soon as the state of their affairs permitted, they erected a temple to Pan <sup>120</sup> near the citadel: ever since the above period, they venerate the god by annual sacrifices, and the race of torches <sup>121</sup>.

## CVI.

<sup>119</sup> *Neglected him.*]—The note of Larcher on this passage seems a little remarkable: I therefore give it at length.

“Clemens of Alexandria says, that the Athenians did not even know Pan before Phidippides told them of his existence. With the respect due to a father of the church, this reasoning does not to me seem just; because the Athenians had not yet instituted festivals in honour of Pan, it by no means follows that they knew nothing of him. The majority of feasts instituted in catholic countries, in honour of saints, are greatly posterior to the period of their deaths, and take their date, like those of Pan amongst the Athenians, from the time when their protection and its effects were for the first time experienced.”

If this be not a facer at the Romish saints, it is certainly very like one.—T.

<sup>120</sup> *To Pan.*]—This sacred building to Pan is mentioned by Pausanias, l. i. c. 28. After the battle of Marathon, they sung in honour of this deity a hymn, which is given by Athenæus, Deipnosoph. l. xv. c. 14. but more correctly by Brunck, in his *Analecta*. Brunck, however, and Wyttenbach, are both of opinion that this hymn alluded to a victory obtained by some poet at the Panathenæa.—See the remainder of Larcher's note on this passage.

<sup>121</sup> *Race of torches.*]—The manner of this race was as follows:

CVI. Phidippides, who was sent by the Athenians' generals, and who related his having met with Pan, arrived at Sparta on the second day<sup>122</sup> of his departure

lows:—A man with a torch in his hand ran from the altar of the god, in whose honour the race was celebrated, to some certain spot, without extinguishing his torch; if the torch went out he gave it to a second, and he to a third, if he met with the same accident; if the third was also unfortunate, the victory was adjudged to no one.

This feast was celebrated in honour of various deities, as of Minerva, Vulcan, Prometheus, Pan, Æsculapius, &c. In the Panathænæa, or feasts of Minerva, the Lampadophori ran from the Piræum; from the Ceramicus or academy, in those of Vulcan or Prometheus. There was in the academy a statue of Cupid, consecrated by Pisistratus, where they lighted the sacred torches in the courses instituted in honour of these gods. The same honour was rendered to Pan, as we learn from this passage in Herodotus, and in the manuscript lexicon of Photius.

To this custom various authors allude, and amongst others Lucretius:

Augeſcunt aliæ gentes, aliæ minuuntur,  
Inque brevi ſpatio mutantur ſæcla animantum,  
Et quaſi curſores vitæ lampada tradunt.

I am of opinion that there is an alluſion to this cuſtom alſo in an epigram of Alcæus of Meſſina, preſerved in Brunck:

Beauty having a torch in his hand runs ſwiftly.

Ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ λαμπάδ' ἔχουσα τρέχει.

Larcher.

<sup>122</sup> On the ſecond day.]—Larcher, in his obſervation on this paſſage, corrects a miſtake of Pliny the naturaliſt. “It was thought,” ſays Pliny, “a great thing that Phidippides ran in two days 1140 ſtadia, that is to ſay, the diſtance betwixt Athens and Lacedæmon, till Lanifis (Larcher ſays, I know not on what authority, Anifis) and Philonides, who was a courier of Alexander the Great, ran in one day 1200 ſtadia, or the diſtance betwixt Sicyon and Elis.” “Allowing,” ſays Larcher,

“for

ture from Athens. He went immediately to the magistrates, and thus addressed them: "Men of Lacedæmon, the Athenians supplicate your assistance, and entreat you not to suffer the most ancient city of Greece to fall into the hands of the Barbarians: Eretria is already subdued, and Greece weakened by the loss of that illustrious place." After the above speech of Phidippides, the Lacedæmonians resolved to assist the Athenians; but they were prevented from doing this immediately by the prejudice of an inveterate custom. This was the ninth day of the month, and it was a practice with them to undertake no enterprize before the moon was at the full<sup>123</sup>; for this, therefore, they waited.

## CVII.

"for the windings of the road betwixt Sicyon and Elis, the distance is no more than 600 stadia of those which are eight to a mile, of which stadia there are 1140 betwixt Athens and Sparta. If Pliny in this place meant to speak of the smaller stadium, he ought to have said so, because just above he spoke of the greater stadium, as the passage itself proves."

I may be allowed in this place to correct an error of Larcher, who misquotes the above passage from Pliny; he calls Anistis and Philonides *couriers d'Alexandre*, whereas the words of Pliny are, "donec Anistis curior Lacedæmonius, & Philonides Alexandri Magni," that is, till Anistis a Lacedæmonian courier, and Philonides a courier of Alexander, &c. Pliny, it may be added, in the same chapter (book vii. c. 20.) speaks of people who in the circus could run 160 miles a day, and of a boy who betwixt noon and evening ran 75 miles.

<sup>123</sup> *Moon was at the full.*]—I will first give the reader what Plutarch, in his Essay on the Malignity of Herodotus, remarks on this passage, and afterwards the observation of Larcher, which

CVII. In the night before Hippias conducted the Barbarians to the plains of Marathon, he saw

seems to me at least a sufficient and satisfactory answer to the censure of Plutarch.

“Herodotus is also evidently convicted of reporting falsely of the Lacedæmonians, saying that waiting for the full moon they did not assist the Athenians at Marathon; but they not only made numberless military excursions at the beginning of the month, and without waiting for the full moon, but they wanted so very little of being present at this battle, which took place on the sixth day of the month Boedromion, that on their arrival they found the dead still lying in the field. Yet Herodotus has thus written concerning the full moon.” Plutarch then adds the passage before us, after which he says, “Thou, oh Herodotus, transferrest the full moon to the beginning of the month, when she is but yet in her first quarter, and at the same time confoundest the heavens, days, and all things.”

“The Lacedæmonians,” says Larcher, “did not commence a march before the full moon. This is confirmed by the evidence of Pausanias, b. i. c. 28. of Lucian, in his Tract on Astrology, c. 25. who imputes this regulation to Lycurgus, and of the author of the Tract on Rivers, printed amongst the works of Plutarch; of Hermogehes also, and others. In defiance of these authorities, Plutarch, not satisfied with denying the fact, asserts, that the battle of Marathon took place on the sixth of the month Boedromion, and that the Lacedæmonians, having arrived a short time after the battle, must consequently have begun their march before the full moon. But is it possible to believe that Plutarch, who lived six ages after that battle, should be better informed concerning its date than Herodotus, who often communicated with those who were there in person? Plutarch, who always represents Herodotus as a malignant wretch, still allows him the praise of ingenuity; but if he had been dull as any Bæotian, I much doubt whether he could have dared to advance a falsehood like this, concerning a matter so very recent, and of which there were still so many evidences, when he recited his history at the Olympic games.”

this

this vision: he thought that he lay with his mother<sup>124</sup>. The inference which he drew from this was, that he should again return to Athens, be restored to his authority, and die in his own house of old age: he was then executing the office of a general. The prisoners taken in Eretria he removed to Ægilea, an island belonging to the Styreans; the vessels which arrived at Marathon, he stationed in the port, and drew up the Barbarians in order as they disembarked. Whilst he was thus employed, he was seized with a fit of sneezing<sup>125</sup>, attended with

<sup>124</sup> *Lay with his mother.*]—This was considered as a fortunate dream, for in a case like this a man's mother intimated his country. Cæsar had a similar dream, at which although, as Larcher observes, he affected to disbelieve the immortality of the soul, he was rendered uneasy; but the interpreters of dreams, easily as we may suppose, revived his spirits, by assuring him that he should one day become the master of the world.

<sup>125</sup> *Sneezing.*]—The act of sneezing was considered as an auspicious omen, at least we find Penelope in the *Odyssey* welcoming it as such from Telemachus:

She spoke—Telemachus then sneez'd aloud;  
 Constrain'd, his nostrils echoed through the crowd;  
 The smiling queen the happy omen bless'd;  
 So may these impious fall by fate oppress'd.

Pliny says, that sneezing in the morning was unlucky, sneezing at noon fortunate; to sneeze to the right was lucky, to the left, and near a place of burial, the reverse. The Latins, when any one sneezed, "*salvere jusserunt*," or as we should say, cried "save you;" which custom remains to the present period, but for which antiquarians account very differently; but it is generally believed to have arisen from some disease, with which those who were infected inevitably died. Aristotle's account

seems

with a very unusual cough. The agitation into which he was thrown, being an old man, was so violent, that as his teeth were loose, one of them dropped out of his mouth upon the sand. Much pains were taken to find it, but in vain; upon which Hippias remarked with a sigh to those around him: "This country is not ours, nor shall we ever become masters of it—my lost tooth possesses all that belongs to me."

CVIII. Hippias conceived that he saw in the above incident the accomplishment of his vision. In the mean time the Athenians, drawing themselves up in military order near the temple of Hercules, were joined by the whole force of the Plateans. The Athenians had formerly submitted to many difficulties on account of the Plateans, who now, to return the obligation, gave themselves up to their direction. The occasion was this: the Plateans being oppressed by the Thebans, solicited the protection of Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides, and of such Lacedæmonians as were at hand; they disclaimed, however, any interference, for which they assigned this reason: "From us, said they, situated at so great a distance, you can ex-

seems as satisfactory as any other why it should be deemed auspicious: "It is," says he, "a motion of the brain, which through the nostrils expels what is offensive, and in some degree demonstrates internal strength." He adds, "that medical people, if they were able to provoke the act of sneezing from their patients, who might be thought dangerously indisposed, conceived hopes of their recovery."—T.

"pect

“pect but little assistance; for before we can even  
 “receive intelligence of your danger, you may be  
 “effectually reduced to servitude; we would rather  
 “recommend you to apply to the Athenians, who  
 “are not only near, but able to protect you.”  
 The Lacedæmonians, in saying this, did not so  
 much consider <sup>126</sup> the interest of the Plateans, as  
 they were desirous of seeing the Athenians barrasted  
 by a Bœotian war. The advice was nevertheless  
 accepted, and the Plateans going to Athens, first  
 offered a solemn sacrifice to the twelve divinities,  
 and then sitting near the altar, in the attitude of  
 supplicants, they placed themselves formally under  
 the protection of the Athenians. Upon this the  
 Thebans led an army against Platea, to defend  
 which the Athenians appeared with a body of  
 forces. As the two armies were about to engage,  
 the Corinthians interferred; their endeavours to re-  
 concile them so far prevailed, that it was agreed, on  
 the part of both nations, to suffer such of the people  
 of Bœotia as did not choose to be ranked as Bœo-

<sup>126</sup> *Did not so much consider.*]—Plutarch, in his tract on the  
 Malignity of Herodotus, speaks thus of this passage: “Her-  
 odotus representing this fact adds, not as a matter of suspicion  
 or opinion, but as a certainty well known to him, that the La-  
 cedæmonians gave this counsel to the Plateans, not from any  
 regard or good will to them, but from the wish to involve the  
 Athenians in trouble, by engaging them with the Bœotians. If  
 then Herodotus be not malignant, the Lacedæmonians must  
 have been both fraudulent and malevolent: the Athenians must  
 also have been fools, in permitting themselves thus to be im-  
 posed upon, and the Plateans were introduced not from any re-  
 spect, but merely as an occasion of war.”—T.

tians,



tians to follow their own inclinations. Having effected this, the Corinthians retired, and their example was followed by the Athenians; these latter were on their return attacked by the Boeotians, whom they defeated. Passing over the boundaries, which the Corinthians had marked out, they determined that Asopus and Hysias should be the future limits between the Thebans and Plateans. The Plateans having thus given themselves up to the Athenians, came to their assistance at Marathon.

CIX. The Athenian leaders were greatly divided in opinion; some thought that a battle was by no means to be hazarded, as they were so inferior to the Medes in point of number; others, amongst whom was Miltiades, were anxious to engage the enemy. Of these contradictory sentiments, the less politic appeared likely to prevail, when Miltiades addressed himself to the Polemarch<sup>127</sup>, whose name was Callimachus of Aphidnæ. This magistrate, elected into his office by vote, has the privilege of a casting voice; and, according to established custom, is

<sup>127</sup> *Polemarch.* J.—The polemarch was the third of the nine archons; it was his business to offer sacrifice to Diana, surnamed Agroteia, and to Mars; he had the care and protection of all strangers and foreigners who resided at Athens, over whom he had the same authority as the archon had over the citizens; he regulated the funeral games celebrated in honour of those who died in war; he was also to see that the children of those who lost their lives in the public service had a sufficient maintenance from the public treasury.—T.

equal in point of dignity and influence to the military leaders. Miltiades addressed him thus: "Upon you, O Callimachus, it alone depends, whether Athens shall be enslaved, or whether, in the preservation of its liberties, it shall perpetuate your name even beyond the glory of Harmodius and Aristogitus. Our country is now reduced to a more delicate and dangerous predicament than it has ever before experienced; if conquered, we know our fate, and must prepare for the tyranny of Hippias; if we overcome, our city may be made the first in Greece. How this may be accomplished, and in what manner it depends on you, I will explain: the sentiments of our ten leaders are divided, some are desirous of an engagement, others the contrary. If we do not engage, some seditious tumult will probably arise, which may prompt many of our citizens to favour the cause of the Medes; if we come to a battle before any evil of this kind take place, we may, if the gods be not against us, reasonably hope for victory: all these things are submitted to your attention, and are suspended on your will.—If you accede to my opinion, our country will be free, our city the first in Greece; if you shall favour the opinions of those who are averse to an engagement, you may expect the contrary of all the good I have enumerated."

CX. These arguments of Miltiades produced the desired effect upon Callimachus, from whose interposition

interposition it was determined to fight. Those leaders<sup>128</sup>, who from the first had been solicitous to engage the enemy, resigned to Miltiades the days of their respective command. This he accepted, but did not think proper to commence the attack, till the day of his own particular command arrived in its course.

CXI. When this arrived, the Athenians were drawn up for battle in the following order: Callimachus, as polemarch, commanded the right wing, in conformity with the established custom of the Athenians; next followed the tribes, ranged in close order, according to their respective ranks; the Plateans, placed in the rear, formed the left wing. Ever since this battle, in those solemn and public sacrifices, which are celebrated every fifth year, the herald implores happiness for the Plateans jointly with the Athenians. Thus the Athenians produced a front equal in extent to that of the Medes. The ranks in the centre were not very deep, which of course constituted their weakest part; but the two wings were more numerous and strong.

CXII. The preparations for the attack being

<sup>128</sup> *Those leaders.*]—Of the ten Athenian generals, it was customary to elect one from each tribe, upon which occasion a memorable saying of Philip of Macedon is preserved by Plutarch in his apothegms.—“I envy,” says Philip, “the good fortune of the Athenians; they every year can find ten men qualified to command their troops, whilst I on my part am only able to find Parmenion, who is capable of conducting mine.”

thus made, and the appearance of the victims favourable, the Athenians ran towards the Barbarians. There was betwixt the two armies an interval of about eight furlongs. The Persians seeing them approach by running, prepared to receive them, and as they observed the Athenians to be few in number, destitute both of cavalry and archers, they considered them as mad, and rushing on certain destruction; but as soon as the Greeks mingled with the enemy, they behaved with the greatest gallantry <sup>129</sup>. They were the first Greeks that I know of, who ran to attack an enemy <sup>130</sup>; they were the first also, who beheld without dismay the dress and armour of the Medes; for hitherto in Greece the very name of a Mede excited terror.

CXIII. After a long and obstinate contest, the Barbarians in the centre, composed of the Persians

<sup>129</sup> *Greatest gallantry.*]—Xenophon says that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice to Diana as many goats as they should kill enemies, and being unable to procure a sufficient number, they determined every year to sacrifice five hundred. Ælian, with some slight variation, relates the same fact. We read in the Scholiast on Aristophanes, that Callimachus the polemarch vowed to sacrifice as many oxen as they should slay enemies, and unable to obtain a sufficient number, he substituted goats in their room.—Plutarch reproaches Herodotus for saying nothing of this vow.—*Larcher.*

<sup>130</sup> *Ran to attack an enemy.*]—According to Pausanias, long before this period, the Messenians ran to attack the Lacedæmonians, “but this author,” says Larcher, “is too modern to oppose to Herodotus.” It was certainly the common custom of the Greeks thus to meet the enemy. Cæsar practised this mode of attack against Pompey, and with success.

and the Sacæ, obliged the Greeks to give way, and pursued the flying foe into the middle of the country. At the same time the Athenians and Plateans, in the two wings, drove the Barbarians before them; then making an inclination towards each other, by contracting themselves, they formed against that part of the enemy which had penetrated and defeated the Grecian centre, and obtained a complete victory<sup>131</sup>, killing a prodigious number, and pursuing the rest to the sea, where they set fire to their vessels.

CXIV. Callimachus the Polemarch, after the most signal acts of valour, lost his life in this battle. Stefileus also, the son of Thrasylus, and one of the Grecian leaders, was slain. Cynægirus<sup>132</sup>, son of Euphorion,

<sup>131</sup> *A complete victory.*]—"It is surprising," says Larcher, "that in his account of this battle, Herodotus makes no mention of Aristides; his silence is amply supplied by Plutarch. Aristides was one of those who advised an engagement, and when the day of his particular command arrived, gave up his right to Miltiades, and the other generals followed his example. Themistocles and Aristides were the two commanders, who, at the head of their different tribes, drove the Persians to their ships.—Aristides was left on the field to guard the prisoners and booty; the confidence placed in him by his country was not disappointed; the gold and silver which was scattered about, the tents and vessels which were taken full of splendid and valuable effects, he neither touched himself, nor would permit others to do so.

<sup>132</sup> *Cynægirus.*]—He was the brother of Æschylus the celebrated tragic poet; he distinguished himself at the battle of Marathon; but it does not appear that he had any separate command.

Euphorion, after seizing one of the vessels by the poop, had his hand cut off with an ax, and died of his wounds: with these many other eminent Athenians perished.

CXV. In addition to their victory, the Athenians obtained possession of seven of the enemy's vessels. The Barbarians retired with their fleet, and taking on board the Eretrian plunder, which they had left in the island, they passed the promontory of Sunium, thinking to circumvent the Athenians, and arrive at their city before them. The Athenians impute the prosecution of this measure to one of the Alcmaeonidæ, who they say held up a shield<sup>113</sup>

as

command. A remarkable incident is related by Lucan of a man, who, seizing the beak of his enemy's ship, had his hand cut off; undismayed by which he seized it with the other, of which also he was deprived.

He, the bold youth, as board and board they stand,  
Fix'd on a Roman ship his daring hand;  
Full on his arm a mighty blow descends,  
And the torn limb from off his shoulder rends;  
The rigid nerves are cramp'd with stiff'ning cold,  
Convulsive grasp, and still retain their hold:  
Nor sunk his valour, by the pain deprest,  
But nobler rage inflam'd his mangl'd breast;  
His left remaining hand the combat tries,  
And fiercely forth to catch the right he flies;  
The same hard destiny the left demands,  
And now a naked helpless trunk he stands, &c.—T.

<sup>113</sup> *Held up a shield.*]—"For my part," says Reiske, "I by no means clearly understand this passage; to whom did the Alcmaeonidæ shew the shield, to the Persians or Athenians? Certainly not

as a signal to the Persians, when they were under sail.

CXVI. While they were doubling the cape of Sunium, the Athenians lost no time in hastening to the defence of their city, and effectually prevented the designs of the enemy. Retiring from the temple of Hercules, on the plains of Marathon, they fixed their camp near another temple of the same deity, in Cynosargis. The Barbarians anchoring off Phalerus, the Athenian harbour, remained there some time, and then retired to Asia.

to the last, for the Athenians were then in their camp: to the Persians then;—but why to these? To hold up a shield is, according to Diodorus Siculus, ii. 444, a signal for battle; but why should the Alcmaeonidæ hold up a shield to the Persians, who were on board their vessels, as a signal to engage a body of land forces?"

The above reasoning of Reiske seems far from satisfactory. If any previous agreement existed betwixt the Alcmaeonidæ and the Persians, the holding up of the shield might intimate what could only be known to the persons concerned; and so far from being a signal of battle, might suggest entirely the reverse, and tell them that this was no proper time to hazard an attack. The art of signal-making is now brought to an extraordinary degree of perfection, and at sea in particular, orders of the minutest kind are communicated, and distinctly understood, by the simplest process imaginable, hoisting or lowering colours, sails, &c. The more common signal, as being the more obvious in ancient times, was by fire. In *Æschylus*, Agamemnon tells Clytemnestra that he will inform her of the capture of Troy by lighting fires; this is represented as being done, and a messenger comes to inform the queen that Troy is taken, for Agamemnon's signals had been seen.—*T.*

CXVII. The Persians lost<sup>134</sup> in the battle of Marathon six thousand four hundred men, the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two. In the heat of the engagement a most remarkable incident occurred: an Athenian, the son of Cuphagoras, whose name was Epizelus, whilst valiantly fighting, was suddenly struck with blindness. He had received no wound, nor any kind of injury, notwithstanding which he continued blind for the remainder of his life. I have been informed that Epizelus, in relating this calamity, always declared, that during the battle he was opposed by a man of gigantic stature, completely armed, whose beard covered the whole of his shield: he added, that the spectre, passing him, killed the man who stood next him. This, as I have heard, was the narrative of Epizelus<sup>135</sup>.

<sup>134</sup> *The Persians lost.*]—Plutarch remarks on this passage, that Herodotus derogates from the honour of the victory, by misrepresenting and diminishing the number of the slain. Some have affirmed (see Suidas, at the word ποικιλῆ) that the Persians lost two hundred thousand men; but the account of Herodotus certainly appears the more probable.

The battle of Marathon, according to Pausanias, was represented in the portico at Athens called Pæcile, from the variety of paintings on its walls. In this picture the most celebrated Athenian and Platæan heroes were drawn from the life: in one part the Barbarians are flying into the marsh, and in the other the Greeks are slaughtering the enemy as they are entering the Phœnician vessels.

<sup>135</sup> *Narrative of Epizelus.*]—Plutarch, in his Life of Theseus, says, that numbers of those who fought at the battle of Marathon believed that they saw at the head of their ranks Theseus in arms, attacking the Persians.—T.



CXVIII. Datis, on his return with the fleet to Asia, being at Mycone, saw in the night a vision, the particulars of it are not related, but as soon as the morning appeared he examined every vessel of the fleet; finding on board a Phœnician a golden image of Apollo, he enquired from whence it had been taken: having learned to what temple it belonged, he took it himself in his own ship to Delos. The Delians being returned to their island, he first deposited the image in the temple, and then enjoined the inhabitants to remove it to the Theban Delium, which is on the sea-coast opposite to Chalcis. Having done this, Datis returned; the Delians paid no attention to his request, but in the twentieth year after the above event the Thebans removed the image to Delium by the command of an oracle.

CXIX. Datis and Artaphernes, sailing to Asia, carried the captive Eretrians <sup>136</sup> to Susa. Darius, before their defeat, had expressed the severest indignation against them, as having first and unjustly commenced hostilities; but when they were conducted to his presence, effectually humbled and reduced to his power, he shewed no farther resentment, but appointed them a residence at a place called Ardericca, in the district of Cissia, one of the

<sup>136</sup> *Captive Eretrians.*]—Larcher tells us, from Philostratus, that the Persians took 780 prisoners at Eretria, but that a great many escaped amongst the rocks of Eubœa, and that only 400 were carried to Susa, amongst whom were ten women.

royal stations. This is distant from Susa two hundred and ten furlongs, and forty from a well which produces the three substances of bitumen, salt, and oil; it is drawn up with an engine, to which a kind of bucket is suspended made of half a skin; it is then poured into one cistern, and afterwards removed into a second. The substances by this process separate; the bitumen and the salt form themselves into distinct masses. The Persians collect the oil, which they call rhadinace, into vessels; this last is of a dark colour, and has a strong smell. In this place Darius placed the Eretrians, and here to my memory they have remained, preserving their ancient language.

CXX. After the moon had passed the full<sup>137</sup>,  
a body

<sup>137</sup> *Had passed the full.*]—Mankind in all ages, from observing the visible operations of the moon upon the ocean, have supposed its influence to extend not only to human affairs, but to the state of the human body. The justly celebrated Dr. Mead wrote a treatise, entitled *De imperio Solis et Lunæ in Corpore Humano*; but all those prejudices and this superstition are now exploded, by the more satisfactory deductions of a sound philosophy. It has been reasonably urged, that as the most accurate and subtle barometers are not at all affected by the various positions of the moon, it is very unlikely that the human body should be within the sphere of its influence. Some travellers have remarked, that in the countries of the East it is customary to prefer the time of the new moon to begin a journey; from this peculiarity Mr. Harmer takes occasion to comment on Proverbs, vii. 19, 20, and 1 Samuel, xx. 24, 25; which passages he explains by referring them to some similar prejudice amongst the ancient Jews:

a body of two thousand Lacedæmonians arrived at Athens; such was their expedition, that they reached Attica in three days from their leaving Sparta. They did not arrive till after the battle, but so great was their desire of beholding the Medes, that to gratify their curiosity they proceeded to Marathon; they then returned, after congratulating the Athenians on their prowess and victory.

CXXI. I am equally astonished at having heard, and reluctant to believe, that the Alcægonidæ held up a shield by way of signal to the Persians, wishing to subject the Athenians to the power of the Barbarians and Hippias. No man, in his hatred against all tyrants, could possibly exceed, or even equal, Callias the son of Phænippus, and father of Hipponicus. Callias<sup>138</sup> was ever distinguished by

Proverbs, vii. 19, 20. The good man is not at home, he is gone a long journey: he hath taken a bag of money in his hand, and will come home at the *appointed time*. "The appointed time," says Mr. Harmer, "may properly be rendered the *new moon*."

1 Samuel, xx. 24. "So David hid himself in the field: and when the *new moon* was come, the king sat him down to eat meat."—*T.*

<sup>138</sup> *Callias.*—A whimsical story is told of this Callias, in Plutarch's Life of Aristides: he was a man of mean rank, but happening to be at the battle of Marathon, was taken by a Barbarian for a king, on account of his long hair, and a bandage which he wore round his forehead. The Persian fell at his feet, and discovered to him a prodigious quantity of gold in a ditch: Callias slew him, and took the money. But how does this accord with what is elsewhere written of Aristides, that he remained on the field, and prevented the plunder being taken by any private hands?—*T.*

his implacable animosity against Pisistratus; and when the tyrant was expelled, and his effects sold by public auction, he was the only man who dared to become a purchaser.

CXXII. The above personage deserves to be remembered, not only for what we have already mentioned, proving him a man extremely zealous for the liberties of his country, but for the honours he obtained <sup>139</sup> at the Olympic games. He obtained the first prize in the horse race, the second in that of the chariots drawn by four horses: at the Pythian games he was also victorious, upon which occasion he treated the Greeks with great magnificence <sup>140</sup>. His liberality also to his three daughters was equally conspicuous: as soon as they were of age to marry, he assigned them a noble portion, and suffered each to choose her husband from among all the Athenians.

<sup>139</sup> *Honours he obtained.*—The whole of this passage is wanting in many manuscripts: Valenaer seems to think it has no business here; and Larcher thinks it was inserted by some sophist, who wished to pay his court to Hipponicus, son of this Callias.—T.

<sup>140</sup> *With great magnificence.*]—I presume it was customary to do this in proportion to the rank and affluence of the victor. I find in Athenæus, book i. chap. 3, several examples to this effect.—Alcibiades, in consequence of being victorious at the Olympic games, offered a sacrifice to the Olympian Jupiter, and gave an entertainment to all the assembly of Olympia. Ion of Chios, having obtained the prize for his tragedy, gave to every Athenian a Hask of Chian wine.—T.

CXXIII. But all the Alcmaeonidæ, as well as Callias, were remarkable for their enmity to tyrants; I am therefore the more astonished to hear, and unwilling to believe, the circumstance imputed to them, of holding up a shield as a signal to the Persians. While a system of tyranny prevailed in their country they lived in voluntary exile; and it was by their contrivance that the Pisistratidæ resigned their power: for these reasons they seem to me to have more assisted the cause of freedom than either Harmodius or Aristogiton. These latter, by destroying Hipparchus, so far from repressing the ambitious designs of the other Pisistratidæ, only inflamed them the more. The Alcmaeonidæ were avowedly the deliverers of Athens, if indeed it was at their suggestion that the Pythian, as I have before described, enjoined the Lacedæmonians to restore its freedom.

CXXIV. It may be asked, whether they were induced to betray their country from any resentment against the people of Athens; but no individuals were more illustrious at Athens, or held in more general estimation. The story, therefore, of the shield, imputed to this motive, contradicts probability: that a shield was held up cannot be disputed, but by whom I can by no means farther determine.

CXXV. The Alcmaeonidæ were always amongst the most distinguished characters of Athens; but Alcmaeon himself, and Megacles, his immediate descendant,

descendants, were more particularly illustrious. Alcmaeon son of Megacles received with great kindness, and obliged by many services, those Lydians whom Croesus sent from Sardis to consult the oracle at Delphi. On their return they did not omit to acquaint Croesus with his benevolence; he instantly sent for him to Sardis, and presented him with as much gold as he was able to carry. To enhance the value of this gift, Alcmaeon made use of the following artifice:—Providing himself with a large tunic, in which were many folds, and with the most capacious buskins he could procure, he followed his guide to the royal treasury; there rolling himself amongst the golden ingots, he first stuffed his buskins as full of gold as possibly he could, he then filled all the folds of his robes, his hair, and even his mouth, with gold dust. This done, with extreme difficulty he staggered from the place, from his swelling mouth, and projections all around him, resembling any thing rather than a man. When Croesus saw him, he burst into laughter, and not only suffered him to carry all that he had got away, but added other presents equally valuable. The family from this circumstance became exceedingly affluent, and Alcmaeon was thus enabled to procure and maintain those horses which obtained him the victory at the Olympic games.

CXXVI. In the age which next succeeded, Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, raised this family even beyond its former importance. This Clisthenes, who was the son of Aristonymus, grandson of My-  
non,

non, and great-grandson of Andros, had a daughter named Agarista: his determination was to marry her to the most distinguished man in Greece. During the celebration of the Olympic games at which Clisthenes was victorious in the contest of the chariots drawn by four horses, he ordered this proclamation to be made by a herald—that whoever thought himself worthy of becoming the son-in-law of Clisthenes was desired to appear at Sicyon within sixty days; for in the course of a year, reckoning from that period, Clisthenes intended to give his daughter in marriage. All those therefore who were either proud of their own merit, or of their country, appeared as candidates; and Clisthenes prepared for the occasion a palæstra<sup>141</sup>, and other proper places of exercise.

CXXVII. From Italy came Smindyrides<sup>142</sup>, son of

<sup>141</sup> *A palæstra.*]—Not unlike to this conduct of Clisthenes, were the solemnities described in books of ancient romance and chivalry, as preceding the nuptials of a king's daughter. The knight who was victorious at tilts and tournaments generally captivated the affections of the lady, and obtained the consent of the father. Bishop Hurd, in his *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, traces the origin of jousts and tournaments no farther than the feudal constitution of the middle ages; perhaps, without great impropriety, he might have found the seeds of their existence in the public games of Greece. To these we may certainly look for the contests, whether of gladiators or beasts, exhibited in the amphitheatres of ancient Rome; from which basis, through various modifications, the spirit of Gothic chivalry might possibly be derived.—7.

<sup>142</sup> *Smindyrides.*]—The effeminate softness of this man is twice mentioned.

of Hippocrates, a native of Sybaris, and a man eminent for his refined luxury: Sybaris was at that time an affluent and powerful city. On the same occasion Damas of Siris appeared, he was the son of Samyris, surnamed the Wise. Amphimnestus the Epidamnian, son of Epistrophus, came from the Ionian gulph. Amongst others also was Males the Ætolian, brother of that Titormus<sup>143</sup> who surpassed the rest of his countrymen in bodily prowess, but who had retired from society to the remote parts of Ætolia. Leocedes, son of Phidon, prince of the Argives, came from the Peleponnese: this man first instituted the instruments of measuring<sup>144</sup> in

mentioned by Ælian in his Various History. See book ix. c. 24. He complained, after sleeping upon roses, that he had got tumours in his body from the hardness of his bed. Seneca, in his Treatise de Ira, had evidently in his eye the above passage of Ælian; but he says that Smindyrides complained of the roses being doubled under him—*foliis rosæ duplicatis*. The words of Ælian are *φλυκταῖας ἐκ τῆς εὐρυς ἔχειν*; now *φλυκταῖας* certainly mean tumours occasioned from extreme exercise or fatigue.

The other passage in Ælian, is book xii. c. 24; from which we learn, that when he paid his addresses to the daughter of Clisthenes, he carried with him a thousand cooks, a thousand fowlers, and a thousand fishermen.—T.

<sup>143</sup> *Titormus*.]—This man, as we learn from Athenæus, one day disputed with Milo of Crotona, which could soonest devour a whole ox. Of this last, incredible as it may seem, it is related that he carried a young bull of four years old upon his shoulders to some distance; after which he killed it, divided it into portions, and eat the whole of it by himself, in the space of a day.—Larcher.

<sup>144</sup> *Instruments of measuring*.]—On this subject the following passage occurs in Pliny. *Mensuras et pondera Phidon Argivus invenit*



in the Peleponnese, and was the most insolent of all his cotemporaries. He removed the Agonothetæ<sup>145</sup> from Elis, which office he himself afterwards executed at Olympia. Amiartus the Arcadian, son of Lycurgus, came from Trapezus: there was also Laphenes the Azenian, of the city of Pæos, and son of that Euphorion who, as is reported in Arcadia, entertained at his house Castor and Pollux, and was afterwards remarkable for his universal hospitality. Onomastus of Elis, the son of Agæus, was also of the number. Amongst the Athenians were Megacles, son of that Alcmaeon who went to Croesus; and Hippoclides, son of Tisander, who was eminent amongst his countrymen, both for his affluence and his personal accomplishments. The only Eubœan was Lyfanius, who came from Eretria, which was at that time in considerable repute. Of the Scopadæ of Thessaly, was present Diactorides the Cranonian, and Alcon from amongst the Molossians.—These were the suitors.

CXXVIII. On their appearance at the day appointed, Clisthenes first enquired of each his country and his family. He then detained them all for the space of a year, examining their comparative

*invenit vel Palamedes ut mauluit Gellius.*—The first introduction of weights and measures into Greece is imputed by some to Pythagoras. See Diog. Laert. in Pythag. D'Anville is of opinion that the measures here mentioned were not those of distance.—*Larcher.*

<sup>145</sup> *Agonothetæ.*]—These were the judges and arbiters of the public games.

strength,

strength, sensibility, learning, and manners: for this purpose he sometimes conversed with them individually, sometimes collectively. The youngest he often engaged in public exercises; but his great trial of them all was at public entertainments. As long as they were with him they were treated with the utmost magnificence and liberality; but to the Athenians he shewed a particular preference. Of these Hippoclide, the son of Tisander, was the first in his regard, both on account of his own personal prowess, as well as because his ancestors were related to the Cypselidæ <sup>146</sup> of Corinth.

CXXIX. When the day arrived which was to decide the choice of Clisthenes, and the solemnization of the nuptials, an hundred oxen <sup>147</sup> were sacrificed, and the suitors, with all the Sicyonians, invited to the feast. After supper, the suitors engaged in a dispute about music, and in other general subjects. Whilst they were drinking <sup>148</sup>, Hippoclide,

<sup>146</sup> *Cypselidæ.*]—See an account of the founder of this family, in the fifth book, chapter 92.

<sup>147</sup> *Hundred oxen.*]—The origin of hecatombs, according to Strabo, was this: there were an hundred cities in Laconia, each of which every year sacrificed an ox. The etymology of hecatomb is from *ἑκατομβή*, a solemn sacrifice; or rather from *ἑκατος*, a hundred, and *βύς*, an ox. By a hecatomb in general, we understand the sacrifice of an hundred beasts of the same kind, upon an hundred altars, by an hundred different priests.—T.

<sup>148</sup> *Whilst they were drinking.*]—In Greece, says Larcher, they did not drink till after they had done eating. This is exemplified from a passage of Xenophon, where, when somebody

clides, who made himself remarkably conspicuous, directed one of the musicians to play a tune called "Emmelia"<sup>149</sup>: his request being obeyed, he began to dance with much satisfaction to himself, though, as it should seem, to the great disgust of Clitthenes, who attentively observed him. After a short pause, Hippoclide's commanded a table to be brought; upon this he first of all danced according to the Lacedæmonian, and then in the Athenian manner: at length he stood upon his head, using his legs as if they had been his hands. The two former actions of Hippoclide's Clitthenes observed with great command of temper; he determined not to choose him as his son-in-law, being much of-

at the table of Scuthes desires Aristus to drink; he replies, "that he has not yet done eating, but that he might ask Xenophon to drink, who had dined."

<sup>149</sup> *Emmelia*.]—It has been generally understood of the dance called Emmelia, that it was of a peculiar gravity and stateliness, suited to the dignity of tragedy: but I think with Larcher, from the passage before us, that there must have been different kinds of dances under this name; for it seems not at all likely that Clitthenes should quarrel with his son-in-law elect for exercising himself in a solemn and dignified dance. Of this dance also we are told that Plato approved, along with the Pyrrhic or military dances, which he certainly would not have done, if it had been of the immodest kind which is here reprobated. It may also without impropriety be observed, that the Athenians deemed those impolite who refused to exercise themselves in dancing, when the proper opportunity occurred; and what time could be more suitable than a nuptial feast? The act of dancing would naturally seem to indicate joy, but it constituted a part of the funeral ceremonies of the ancients. I have somewhere read of a tribe of Indians, amongst whom dancing was practised as a testimony of sorrow.—T.

fended with his want of delicacy and decorum; but when he saw him dancing with his feet in the air, he could contain himself no longer, but exclaimed, "Son of Tisander, 'you have danced away your wife.'"—"Hippoclides cares not," was the abrupt reply. This afterwards became a proverb<sup>150</sup>.

CXXX. After this Clifthenes, demanding silence, thus addressed the assembly: "Ye, who have come hither as suitors to my daughter, are all entitled to my praise, and if it were in my power I would gratify you all, not distinguishing one in preference to the rest; but this is impossible, for as there is only one virgin, the wishes of you all cannot be satisfied: to each of you therefore, who must depart hence disappointed of their object, in acknowledgment of your condescension in desiring to marry a daughter of mine, I present a talent of silver; but I give my daughter Agarista to Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon, to be his wife according to the Athenian laws." Megacles accepted the honour, and the marriage was solemnized.

<sup>150</sup> *Became a proverb.*]—Lucian uses this as a proverbial expression, in his *Apolog. pro Merced. Arduet.* & *φροντις* ἱπποκλιδος, Hippoclides cares not. We have one in this country, amongst the common people, nearly the same—"Who cares?" The expression *ολιγον μοι μελει* occurs frequently in the *Vespis* of Aristophanes, probably in allusion to this place of Herodotus. Plutarch also, in his tract against Herodotus, applies of himself as ridiculous the phrase.—*T.*

CXXXI. Such was the decision made with respect to these suitors, and in this manner the Alcæonidæ became illustrious in Greece. The first offspring of this marriage was called Clisthenes, after his maternal grandfather, the prince of Sicyon. He it was who divided the Athenians into tribes, and introduced a democracy. The name of the second son was Hippocrates, to whom afterwards was born a son named Megacles, and a daughter called Agarista, after the daughter of Clisthenes: she was married to Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron. She being pregnant, dreamt that she brought forth a lion, and was very soon afterwards delivered of Pericles.

CXXXII. Miltiades was always very popular at Athens; but after the signal defeat of the Persians at Marathon, his reputation still more increased. He demanded of his countrymen a fleet of seventy ships, with a supply of money and of men: he did not specify to what place he intended to conduct them, he only promised that he would lead them to affluence, and to a country from whence they should bring abundance of gold. The Athenians believed and obeyed him.

CXXXIII. Receiving the reinforcement he had solicited, Miltiades sailed to Paros. His pretended object was to punish the Parians for taking an active part in favour of the Persians, at the battle of Marathon. This however was assumed; his resentment against the Parians arose from Lyfagoras, the

the son of Tyfias, a native of Paros, who had prejudiced Hydarnes the Persian against him. On his arrival before the place, Miltiades commenced a vigorous siege, sending at the same time an herald to the Parians, to demand a hundred talents; and declaring, that if they did not grant it, he would not leave the place till he had destroyed it. The Parians never thought for a moment of complying with his demand, but attended vigilantly to the defence of their city, strengthening those parts which were weak, and rendering, under advantage of the night, their wall twice as strong as it was before.

CXXXIV. Thus far all the Greeks correspond in their account; what ensued is thus related by the Parians: Miltiades, reduced to great perplexity<sup>151</sup>, consulted with a female captive, a Parian by birth, whose name was Timo, a priestess of the infernal deities. On her appearing before him, she said, that if he wished to accomplish his designs upon Paros, he must follow her advice. In consequence of what she recommended, Miltiades advanced to an eminence before the city, and, not able to open the gates of a place consecrated to Ceres Thesmophoros, he leaped over the fence: from hence he proceeded to the temple, either to remove something which it was deemed impious to touch, or with some other intention; on approaching the entrance he was seized with a sudden hor-

<sup>151</sup> *Great perplexity.*]—The account given of Miltiades, and of this particular expedition, by Cornelius Nepos, is materially different.—T.

ror of mind ; and returning by the same way, he in leaping a second time over the wall dislocated his thigh, though, as some say, he wounded his knee.

CXXXV. After the above accident Miltiades returned home, without bringing the Athenians the wealth he promised, or rendering himself master of Paros, before which, after laying waste the island, he remained six-and-twenty day. When the Parians knew that Timo the priestess had advised Miltiades, they wished to punish her. As soon therefore as the siege was raised, they sent to Delphi to enquire whether they might put the priestess to death, as having pointed out to an enemy the means of possessing their country, and had exposed to Miltiades those sacred ceremonies at which it was not lawful for a man to be present. The Pythian would not suffer them to hurt her, saying, that Timo was not culpable, for that it was decreed that Miltiades should miserably perish, and that she was only the instrument of conducting him to his destiny.

CXXXVI. On his return from Paros, Miltiades was generally censured by his countrymen, and in particular by Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, who accused him capitally to the Athenians as a betrayer of his country. To this Miltiades could not personally reply, for his wound mortifying, he was confined to his bed ; but he was very vigorously defended by his friends, who adduced in his favour the victory of Marathon, the taking of Lemnos, which, after chastising the Pelasgi, he had re-  
duced

duced to the power of Athens. By the interference of the people, his life was saved, but he was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents<sup>152</sup>. His wound growing worse, Miltiades died, but the fine was discharged by his son Cimon.

CXXXVII. Miltiades had thus obtained possession of Lemnos. The Pelasgians had been expelled Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or otherwise, I am not able to determine: Hecataeus the son of Hegesander, in his history, says unjustly. The Athenians, according to him, observing their territory near Hymettus, which they had given up to the Pelasgi as a reward for building them a wall, well cultivated, whereas formerly it produced little, and was of no estimation, they expelled them from it, without any other motive than envy, and a desire of obtaining the place. The Athenian account says, that the Pelasgi were justly expelled; this people, they assert, made hostile excursions from Hymettus<sup>153</sup>, and frequently offered violence to the young women who went from Athens to the nine fountains, for the purpose of drawing water; for at this period the Greeks had no slaves. Not

<sup>152</sup> *Fifty talents.*]—This, according to Cornelius Nepos, was the sum which it cost the Athenians to fit out the armament which Miltiades led against Paros.—7.

<sup>153</sup> *Hymettus.*]—This place, now called Hymetto, was anciently famous for producing fine marble, abundance of bees, and excellent honey. The hills of Hymettus were the scene of the celebrated story of Cephæus and Procris. See Ovid de Arte Amandi, iii. 687.

Est prope purpureos colles stentis Hymetti

Fons sacer, &c.

T.



satisfied with treating these with great insolence and brutality, the Pelasgi formed the bolder design of rendering themselves masters of Athens. The Athenians think their conduct on this occasion entitled to the highest praise; for, having detected the Pelasgi of treachery, they might justly have exterminated them, instead of which they only expelled them the country. Thus circumstanced, they dispersed themselves, and some of them settled at Lemnos.—Such are the different accounts of Hecataeus and the Athenians.

CXXXVIII. Those Pelasgi who settled at Lemnos were very solicitous to avenge themselves on the Athenians. Knowing therefore the times of their public festivals, they prepared two fifty-oared barks to surprize the Athenian females<sup>154</sup> who were engaged near Brauron in celebrating the feast of Diana: many of these fell into their hands, and being carried to Lemnos, became their concubines. These women had a number of children, whom they educated in the Athenian language and man-

<sup>154</sup> *Athenian females.*]—In the Greek, the *wives* of the Athenians: It is proper to observe, that the Athenians, who called themselves *Athenaioi*, never called their women *Athenaiai*, because Minerva is in Homer called *Athenaia*: such was their superstition. They spoke of their women by a periphrasis, as here, or by the word *asai*, *asai*, female citizens, because Athens, by way of distinction, was called *Ace*, the city.

The feast here mentioned was called Brauronia, from the place at which it was celebrated. A goat was sacrificed, and rhapsodists sung portions of the *Iliad*; it was celebrated every five years. Young girls, sacred to Diana, celebrated this feast in saffron-coloured robes; they might not be more than ten years old, nor less than five.—*Larcher*.

ners: these accordingly refused to associate with the other children of the Pelasgi; and if one of them was at any time beaten by them, they mutually ran to one another's assistance. They thought themselves worthy of being their masters, and ultimately became so. The Pelasgians, observing this, were much exasperated, for, said they, if these children thus unite against the offspring of our legitimate wives, and are continually aiming at superiority over them, what will they do when they arrive at manhood. They resolved therefore to put these children to death, after which they determined also to kill their mothers. This action, added to a former one, in which the women of Lemnos destroyed all their husbands, with Thoas their king<sup>155</sup>, induced the Grecians to call every atrocious crime Lemnian.

CXXXIX: The Pelasgi, after the above murder of their children and concubines, found their earth, their cattle, and their wives alike cursed with sterility; to obtain relief from which they sent a deputation to Delphi. The Pythian commanded them to render such satisfaction to the Athenians as they

<sup>155</sup> *Thoas their king.*]—Later writers have made Hypsipyle preserve the life of her father Thoas. The whole of this is beautifully described by Valerius Flaccus, in his second book. The motive which was supposed to induce the Lesbian women to this sanguinary action was this:—The Lemnian women celebrated every year a festival in honour of Venus; but having neglected this custom, the goddess punished their neglect by giving them a disagreeable odour, which made their husbands avoid them. The women thus, deeming themselves despised, slew all the men.—7.

should require; they accordingly went to Athens, engaging themselves to submit to whatever should be proposed. The Athenians set in order some couches in the Prytaneum, which they adorned with the greatest magnificence, they prepared also a table covered with every delicacy; they then required the Pelasgi to surrender them Lemnos in a similar state of abundance:—"Whenever," said they, in reply, "one of your vessels shall in a single day " make its passage to our country with a northern " wind, we will comply with what you require." This they conceived to be impracticable, as Attica lies considerably to the south of Lemnos.

CXL. After an interval of some years, when the Chersonese on the Hellespont came under the power of the Athenians, Miltiades the son of Cimon, under favour of an eastern wind, passed in a single day from Elæos in the Chersonese to Lemnos. He instantly commanded them to depart from Lemnos, reminding them of the declaration of the oracle <sup>156</sup>, the completion of which they little expected. With this the Hephæstians complied, but the Myrinæi not allowing the Chersonese to be Attica, sustained a siege, but were compelled to surrender. Thus, by means of Miltiades <sup>157</sup>, the Athenians became masters of Lemnos.

<sup>156</sup> *Oracle.*]—A speech of the kind related in the former chapter, though delivered by common persons, was considered as prophetic and oracular.

<sup>157</sup> *Means of Miltiades.*]—Compare the account of Herodotus with that given by Cornelius Nepos.



# HERODOTUS.



## B O O K VII.

### P O L Y M N I A.

#### C H A P. I.



**W**HEN the news of the battle of Marathon was communicated to Darius, he, who was before incensed against the Athenians, on account of their invasion of Sardis, became still more exasperated, and more inclined to invade Greece. He instantly therefore sent emissaries to the different cities under his power, to provide a still greater number of transports, horses, corn, and provisions. In the interval which this business employed, Asia experienced three years of confusion; her most able men being enrolled for the Greek expedition, and making preparation for it. In the fourth, the Ægyptians, who had been reduced by Cambyfes, revolted from the Persians: but this only induced Darius to accelerate his preparations against both nations.

II. At this juncture there arose a violent dispute amongst the sons of Darius, concerning the succession to the throne, the Persian customs forbidding the sovereign to undertake any expedition without naming his heir. Darius had three sons before he ascended the throne, by the daughter of Gobryas; he had four afterwards by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus: Artabazanes<sup>1</sup> was the eldest of the former, Xerxes of the latter. Not being of the same mother, a dispute arose<sup>2</sup> between them; Artabazanes asserted his

<sup>1</sup> *Artabazanes.*]—Larcher is of opinion, that from this personage the celebrated Mithridates, king of Pontus, who for so many years resisted the Roman power, was descended. Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, and other authors, trace this prince to one of the seven Persians who conspired against Smerdis Magus. This Artabazanes probably enjoyed the satrapy of Pontus, and his descendants doubtless enjoyed it also, till Mithridates, surnamed Ctistes (the founder) became sovereign of the country of which he had before only been governor.

This reasoning will hardly appear satisfactory, unless it were evident that the satrapies under the crown of Persia were hereditary, which was by no means the case.—*T.*

<sup>2</sup> *A dispute arose.*]—The account given of this affair by Plutarch, in his Treatise of Brotherly Love, differs materially.

“When Darius died, some contended that Ariamenes should succeed him, as being eldest; others recommended Xerxes, because Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, was his mother, and he was born whilst Darius was actually king. Ariamenes accordingly went to Media, not with any hostile views, but peaceably to have the matter determined. Xerxes, who was on the spot, exercised the royal functions; but as soon as his brother arrived, he laid aside his crown and kingly ornaments, and hastened to salute him. He sent him various presents, and words to this effect: “Xerxes your brother sends you these presents, to shew how much he honours you. If the Persians shall elect me king, you shall be next to myself.” The reply of Ariamenes was,

“I accept

his pretensions from being the eldest of all his father's sons, a claim which mankind in general consent to acknowledge<sup>3</sup>. Xerxes claimed the throne because

"I accept your presents; the crown I believe to be my right: I shall honour all my brethren, and Xerxes in particular." When the day of decision arrived, the Persians elected as judge Artabanus, brother of Darius. Xerxes, who depended on the multitude, objected to him, for which he was censured by his mother Atossa: "Why," she observed, "should you refuse to have your uncle as judge, one of the worthiest men in Persia? and why dread a contest, where if inferior you will still be next to the king?" Xerxes suffered himself to be persuaded, and after hearing the arguments of both, Artabanus adjudged the crown to Xerxes. Ariamenes on this hastily rose, made obeisance to his brother, and taking him by the hand, conducted him to the throne."

<sup>3</sup> *Consent to acknowledge.*]—The principle of hereditary succession is universal, but the order has been variously established by convenience or caprice, by the spirit of national institutions, or by some partial example, which was originally decided by fraud or violence.—See *Gibbon*, iv. 387.

The jurisprudence of the Romans (he continues) appears to have deviated from the equality of nature, much less than the Jewish, the Athenian, or the English institutions. On the death of a citizen, all his descendants, unless they were already freed from his paternal power, were called to the inheritance of his possessions. The insolent prerogative of primogeniture was unknown; the two sexes were placed on a just level; all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal share of the patrimonial estate.

Amongst the patriarchs, the first-born enjoyed a mystical and spiritual primogeniture. In the land of Canaan he was entitled to a double portion of inheritance.

At Athens the sons were equal, but the poor daughters were endowed at the discretion of their brothers.

In England the eldest son alone inherits all the land: a law, says

because he was the grandson of Cyrus, to whom the Persians were indebted for their liberties.

III. Before Darius had made any decision, and in the very midst of the contention, there arrived at Susa, Demaratus<sup>4</sup>, the son of Ariston, who being deprived of the crown of Sparta, had fled from Lacedæmon. This man, hearing of the controversy, went, as is reported, to Xerxes, and recommended him to urge farther, in support of his claim, that when he was born Darius was in actual enjoyment of the empire of Persia, but at the birth of Artabazanes his father was only a private individual. The pretensions of Xerxes therefore could not be set aside, without the most obvious violation of equity. To strengthen this, the example of the

says judge Blackstone, unjust only in the opinion of younger brothers.

Upon the above I would remark, that Blackstone speaks judiciously; whilst I can consider the sentiments of Mr. Gibbon as little better than declamation. It seems evident, that property continually subdivided must be rendered useless to all; or, if this were not the case, to create a numerous class too proud to be industrious, would be to introduce a swarm of useless and inactive drones into the political hive. The wealth of elder brothers maintains the splendour and dignity of a state; the activity of the younger branches gives it life and strength.

—7.

<sup>4</sup> *Demaratus.*]—Xerxes gave Demaratus the cities of Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia, because he attended him on his expedition to Greece. These places were enjoyed by Eurysthenes and Procles, his descendants, at the end of the first year of the 95th Olympiad.—*Larcker.*

Spartans

Spartans<sup>5</sup> was adduced, amongst whom those children born after the accession of the prince to the throne were universally preferred to those born before. Xerxes availed himself of this counsel given by Demaratus, which so effectually impressed Darius, that he declared him his successor. For my own part, I think that Xerxes would have reigned without this advice from Demaratus, as Atossa enjoyed an almost unlimited authority.

IV. Darius having declared Xerxes his heir, prepared to march: but in the year which succeeded the Ægyptian revolt he died; having reigned thirty-six years, without being able to gratify his resentment against the Ægyptians<sup>6</sup> and Athenians who had opposed his power.

V. On his death Xerxes immediately succeeded to the throne, who from the first seemed wholly inclined to the Ægyptian rather than the Athenian war. But Mardonius, who was his cousin, being the son of Gobryas, by a sister of Darius, thus ad-

<sup>5</sup> *Example of the Spartans.*]—Cragius, in his useful book *De Republica Lacedæmoniorum*, speaks at some length on the right of succeeding to the throne of Sparta; but I do not find that he mentions the particularity which is here sanctioned by the respectable authority of Herodotus.—*T.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ægyptians.*]—Aristotle on this subject is at variance with Herodotus; he says that Darius having taken possession of Ægypt, passed over from thence into Greece. The authority of Herodotus, says Larcher, who was almost a cotemporary, seems preferable to that of Aristotle, who lived a long time afterwards.



dressed him: " I should think, Sir<sup>7</sup>, that the  
 " Athenians, who have so grievously injured the  
 " Persians, ought not to escape with impunity. I  
 " would nevertheless have you execute what you  
 " immediately propose; but when you shall have  
 " chastised the insolence of Ægypt, resume the expe-  
 " dition against Athens. Thus will your reputation  
 " be established, and others in future be deterred  
 " from molesting your dominions." What he said  
 was farther enforced by representing the beauties  
 of Europe, that it was exceedingly fertile, abounded  
 with all kinds of trees<sup>8</sup>, and deserved to be pos-  
 sessed by the king alone.

<sup>7</sup> *I should think, Sir.*]—The word Δειπότης I have rendered  
 " Sir;" Larcher has expressed it by the word " Seigneur," as  
 most significant of the reverence with which a slave addressed  
 his lord. For my own part, I am inclined to consider it as a  
 term of general respect, and not as having any appropriate  
 signification, to intimate the condition of the Persians with re-  
 gard to their sovereigns. Thus, amongst the Jews, the word  
 Rabbi meant, as it is properly rendered in our versions,  
 " master," that is to say, it did not imply that they to whom it  
 was applied were the masters of those who used it; but it was  
 a term which custom adopted, and politeness sanctified, as re-  
 spectful from an inferior to a person above him. Add to this,  
 that it was peculiar to the lofty genius of the oriental languages  
 to adopt phrases by no means to be interpreted or understood in  
 their strict and literal sense.—T.

<sup>8</sup> *All kinds of trees.*]—It seems a little singular, that Mardo-  
 nius should say this; for I believe it has always been acknow-  
 ledged that the luxuriant climates of Asia produced every  
 thing which relates to fruit and vegetation, in far greater a-  
 bundance and perfection than the less genial soils of Europe.  
 —T.

• VI. Mardonius said this, being desirous of novel undertakings, and ambitious of the government of Greece. Xerxes at length acceded to his counsel, to which he was also urged by other considerations. Some messengers came from Thessaly on the part of the Aleuadæ, imploring the king to invade Greece; to accomplish which they used the most earnest endeavours. These Aleuadæ were the princes of Thessaly: their solicitations were strengthened by the Pisistratidæ, who had taken refuge at Susa, and who to the arguments before adduced added others. They had amongst them Onomacritus, an Athenian, a famous priest, who sold the oracles of Musæus; with him they had been reconciled previous to their arrival at Susa. This man had been formerly banished from Athens by the son of Pisistratus; for Lasus<sup>9</sup> of Hermione had detected him in the fact of introducing a pretended oracle amongst the verses of Musæus, intimating that the islands contiguous to Lemnos should be overwhelmed in the ocean. Hipparchus for this expelled him, though he had been very intimate with him before. He accompanied the Pisistratidæ to Susa, who always spoke of him in

<sup>9</sup> *Lasus*.]—Lasus was a musician, poet, and, according to some, one of the seven sages of Greece. He was the inventor of the dithyrambic verse, and of the circular dances. Aristophanes, in the *Aves*, calls him *κακλίο διδασκαλός*. He was fond of gaming; and, according to Plutarch, when Xenophanes refused once to play with him, he reproached him with cowardice: “Yes,” answered Xenophanes, “in every thing which is base and dishonest, I confess myself a coward.”—*T*.

terms highly honourable ; upon which account, whenever he appeared in the royal presence, he recited certain oracular verses. He omitted whatever predicted any thing unfortunate to the Barbarians, selecting only what promised them auspiciously ; amongst other things he said the fates decreed that a Persian should throw a bridge over the Hellespont.

VII. Thus was the mind of Xerxes assailed by the predictions of the priest, and the opinions of the Pisistratidæ. In the year<sup>10</sup> which followed the death of Darius he determined on an expedition against Greece, but commenced hostilities with those who had revolted from the Persians. These being subdued, and the whole of Ægypt<sup>11</sup> more effectually reduced than it had been by Darius, the government of it he confided to Achæmenes his own brother, son of Darius. Achæmenes was after-

<sup>10</sup> *In the year.*]—Herodotus was born this year, at Halicarnassus in Caria. See Aulus Gellius, book xv. c. 23.

“ Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides flourished in the same time, and were nearly of the same age ; Hellanicus, in the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, was sixty-five years old, Herodotus fifty-three, and Thucydides forty.”—*T.*

<sup>11</sup> *Whole of Ægypt.*]—Xerxes having ascended the throne, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of Ægypt, which his father had began. He confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, especially that of having the tribute of Samaria for the furnishing them with sacrifices for the carrying on of the divine worship in the temple of God at that place.—*Prideaux.*

wards slain by Inarus an African, the son of Psammitichus.

VIII. After the subjection of Ægypt, Xerxes prepared to lead an army against Athens, but first of all he called an assembly of the principal Persians, to hear their sentiments, and to deliver without reserve his own. He addressed them to the following purport: “ You will remember, O  
“ Persians, that I am not about to execute any new  
“ project of my own; I only pursue the path  
“ which has been previously marked out for me.  
“ I have learned from my ancestors, that ever since  
“ we recovered this empire from the Medes, after  
“ the depression of Astyages by Cyrus, we have  
“ never been in a state of inactivity. A deity is  
“ our guide, and auspiciously conducts us to pro-  
“ sperity. It must be unnecessary for me to relate  
“ the exploits of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, and  
“ the nations they added to our empire. For my  
“ own part, ever since my accession to the throne,  
“ it has been my careful endeavour not to reflect  
“ any disgrace upon my forefathers, by suffering  
“ the Persian power to diminish. My delibera-  
“ tions on this matter have presented me with a  
“ prospect full of glory; they have pointed out  
“ to me a region not inferior to our own in extent,  
“ and far exceeding it in fertility, which incitements  
“ are farther promoted by the expectation of ho-  
“ nourable revenge; I have therefore assembled  
“ you to explain what I intend: I have resolved,  
“ by

“ by throwing a bridge over the Hellespont ”, to  
 “ lead my forces through Europe into Greece, and  
 “ to inflict vengeance on the Athenians for the in-  
 “ juries offered to my father and Persia. You  
 “ well know that this war was intended by Darius,  
 “ though death deprived him of the means of  
 “ vengeance. Considering what is due to him and  
 “ to Persia, it is my determination not to remit my  
 “ exertions, till Athens be taken and burned ”.

<sup>12</sup> *Hellespont.*]—Bockart thinks it very probable, what other learned men have also conjectured, that the Hellespont was originally called Elis-pont, from Elisha, the eldest of Javan’s sons; and it may be added, that one of the 120 provinces, as they stood in the rolls of the Persian empire, was named Provincia *Alysiensis*, for so Herodotus informs us; and it is placed between the provinces of Ionia and Phrygia, comprehending Æolia. From the authority above cited, upon the change of language Elisha the son of Javan was called Æolus. The Jewish rabbi explain the name Elisha, *ad insulam*; and Varro, as cited by Servius, on the 1st Æneid, gives the same title to Æolus Hippotades, styling him Dominus insularum (lord of the islands.)—*T.*

<sup>13</sup> *Taken and burned.*]—Mr. Glover had probably this speech of Xerxes in his mind, when he wrote the following lines, which he makes Mardonius utter on entering Athens :

Is this the city whose presumption dar’d  
 Invade the lord of Asia? sternly said  
 Mardonius, entering.—Whither now are fled  
 Th’ audacious train, whose firebrands Sardis felt?  
 Where’er you lurk, Athenians, if in sight,  
 Soon shall you view your citadel in flames:  
 Or, if retreated to a distant land,  
 No distant land of refuge shall you find  
 Against avenging Xerxes.

*Athenaid.*

“ The

“ The Athenians, unprovoked, first insulted me and  
“ my father : under the conduct of Aristagoras  
“ of Miletus, our dependant and slave, they at-  
“ tacked Sardis, and consumed with fire our groves  
“ and temples. What they perpetrated against  
“ you, when, led by Datis and Artaphernes, you  
“ penetrated their country, you know by fatal ex-  
“ perience. Such are my inducements to proceed  
“ against them : but I have also additional motives.  
“ If we reduce these and their neighbours who in-  
“ habit the country of Pelops the Phrygian, to  
“ our power, the Persian empire will be limited by  
“ the heavens alone ; the sun will illuminate no  
“ country contiguous to ours : I shall over-run all  
“ Europe, and with your assistance possess unli-  
“ mited dominion. For if I am properly inform-  
“ ed, there exists no race of men, nor can any  
“ city or nation be found, which if these be re-  
“ duced can possibly resist our arms : we shall  
“ thus subject, as well those who have, as those  
“ who have not injured us. I call therefore for  
“ your assistance, which I shall thankfully accept  
“ and acknowledge ; I trust that with cheerfulness  
“ and activity you will all assemble at the place I  
“ shall appoint. To him who shall appear with the  
“ greatest number of well-provided troops, I will  
“ present those gifts which in our country are  
“ thought to confer the highest honour. That I  
“ may not appear to dictate my own wishes in an  
“ arbitrary manner, I commit the matter to your  
“ reflection, permitting every one to deliver his  
“ sentiments with freedom.”

IX. When Xerxes had finished, Mardonius made the following reply : “ Sir, you are not only the  
 “ most illustrious of all the Persians who have  
 “ hitherto appeared, but you may securely defy  
 “ the competition of posterity. Amongst other  
 “ things which you have advanced, alike excellent  
 “ and just, you are entitled to our particular admira-  
 “ tion for not suffering the people of Ionia, con-  
 “ temptible as they are, to insult us with impunity.  
 “ It would indeed be preposterous, if after reducing  
 “ to our power the Sacæ, the Indians, the Æthio-  
 “ pians, and the Assyrians, with many other great  
 “ and illustrious nations, not in revenge of injuries  
 “ received, but solely from the honourable desire  
 “ of dominion, we should not inflict vengeance  
 “ on those Greeks who, without provocation, have  
 “ molested us. There can be nothing to excite  
 “ our alarm ; no multitude of troops, no extraor-  
 “ dinary wealth ; we have tried their mode of  
 “ fighting, and know their weakness. Their de-  
 “ scendants, who under the names of Ionians,  
 “ Æolians and Dorians, reside within our domi-  
 “ nions, we first subdued, and now govern. Their  
 “ prowess I myself have known, when at the  
 “ command of your father I prosecuted a war  
 “ against them. I penetrated Macedonia, advanced  
 “ almost to Athens, and found no enemy to en-  
 “ counter. Besides this, I am informed that in all  
 “ their military undertakings the Greeks betray  
 “ the extremest ignorance and folly. As soon as  
 “ they commence hostilities among themselves,  
 “ their

“ their first care is to find a large and beautiful  
 “ plain<sup>14</sup>, where they appear and give battle: the  
 “ consequence is, that even the victors suffer severe  
 “ loss; of the vanquished I say nothing, for they are  
 “ totally destroyed. As they use one common  
 “ language, they ought in policy to terminate  
 “ all disputes by the mediation of ambassadors,  
 “ and above all things to avoid a war among  
 “ themselves: or, if this should prove unavoidable,  
 “ they should mutually endeavour to find a place  
 “ of great natural strength, and then try the issue  
 “ of a battle. By pursuing as absurd a conduct  
 “ as I have described, the Greeks suffered me  
 “ to advance as far as Macedonia without re-  
 “ sistance. But who, Sir, shall oppose you, at  
 “ the head of the forces and the fleet of Asia?  
 “ The Greeks, I think, never can be so auda-  
 “ cious. If however I should be deceived, and  
 “ they shall be so mad as to engage us, they will  
 “ soon find to their cost that in the art of war we  
 “ are the first of mankind. Let us however adopt  
 “ various modes of proceeding, for perfection and  
 “ success can only be the result of frequent experi-  
 “ ment.”—In this manner Mardonius seconded the  
 speech of Xerxes.

<sup>14</sup> *Plain.*]—The Romans, in attacking an enemy, so disposed  
 their army, as to be able to rally three different times. This  
 has been thought by many as the great secret of the Roman  
 discipline; because fortune must have failed their efforts three  
 different times before they could be possibly defeated. The  
 Greeks drew up their forces in one extended line, and therefore  
 depended upon the effect of the first charge.—F.



X. A total silence prevailed in the assembly, no one daring to oppose<sup>15</sup> what had been said; till at length Artabanus, son of Hyftaspes, and uncle to Xerxes, deriving confidence from his relationship, thus delivered his sentiments: “ Unless, O king, “ different sentiments be submitted to the judgment, “ no alternative of choice remains, the one introduced is of necessity adopted. The purity of “ gold cannot be ascertained by a single specimen; “ it is known and approved by comparing it with “ others. It was my advice to Darius, your father “ and my brother, that he should by no means undertake an expedition against the Scythians, a “ people without towns and cities. Allured by “ his hopes of subduing them, he disregarded my “ admonitions; and proceeding to execute his purpose was obliged to return, having lost numbers “ of his best troops. The men, O king, whom “ you are preparing to attack, are far superior to “ the Scythians, and alike formidable by land and “ sea. I deem it therefore my duty to forewarn “ you of the dangers you will have to encounter.

<sup>15</sup> *Daring to oppose.*]—The following is from Ælian’s *Various History*, book xii. c. 62.

“ This was one of the Persian laws; if any one thought proper to give advice to the king about any thing which was forbidden, or ambiguous, he did so standing on a golden tile: if his advice appeared to be salutary, the gold tile was given him as a reward; he was nevertheless beaten for presuming to contradict the king. But in my opinion,” says Ælian, “ a man of an ingenuous mind would never have submitted to the disgrace for the sake of the reward.”—*T.*

“ You

“ You say that, throwing a bridge over the Hellespont, you will lead your forces through Europe into Greece; but it may possibly happen, that either on land or by sea, or perhaps by both, you may sustain a defeat, for our enemies are reported to be valiant. Of this indeed we have had sufficient testimony; for if the Athenians by themselves routed the numerous armies of Datis and Artaphernes, it proves that we are not either by land or sea perfectly invincible. If, preparing their fleet, they shall be victorious by sea, and afterwards sailing to the Hellespont, shall destroy your bridge, we may dread all that is bad. I do not argue in this respect from my own private conjecture; we can all of us remember how very narrowly we escaped destruction, when your father, throwing bridges over the Thracian Bosphorus and the Ister, passed into Scythia. The guard of this pass was entrusted to the Ionians, whom the Scythians urged to break it down, by the most earnest importunity. If at this period Histiaeus of Miletus had not opposed the sentiments of the rest, there would have been an end of the Persian name. • It is painful to repeat, and afflicting to remember, that the safety of our prince and his dominions depended on a single man. Listen therefore to my advice, and where no necessity demands it, do not involve yourself in danger. For the present, dismiss this meeting; revolve the matter more seriously in your mind, and at a future and seasonable time make

“ known your determination. For my own part,  
 “ I have found from experience that deliberation  
 “ produces the happiest effects. In such a case, if  
 “ the event does not answer our wishes, we still  
 “ merit the praise of discretion, and fortune is alone  
 “ to be blamed. He who is rash and inconsiderate,  
 “ although fortune may be kind, and anticipate his  
 “ desires, is not the less to be censured for temerity.  
 “ You may have observed how the thunder-bolt of  
 “ heaven chastises the insolence of the more enor-  
 “ mous animals, whilst it passes over without in-  
 “ jury the weak and insignificant: before these  
 “ weapons of the gods you must have seen how  
 “ the haughtiest palaces <sup>16</sup> and the loftiest trees fall  
 “ and perish. The most conspicuous things are  
 “ those which are chiefly singled out as objects of  
 “ the divine displeasure. From the same principle  
 “ it is that a mighty army is sometimes over-  
 “ thrown by one that is contemptible; for the deity  
 “ in his anger sends his terrors amongst them, and  
 “ makes them perish in a manner unworthy of their

<sup>16</sup> *Haughtiest palaces.]*

Auream quisquis mediocritatem

Diligit, tutus caret obsoleti

Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda

Sobrius aula.

Sæpius ventis agitur ingens

Pinus: et celsæ graviore casus

Decidunt turres, feriuntque summos

Fulgura montes.

*Hor. l. ii. 10.*

“ former

“ former glory. Perfect wisdom<sup>17</sup> is the prerogative of Heaven alone, and every measure undertaken with temerity is liable to be perplexed with error, and punished by misfortune. Discreet caution on the contrary has many and peculiar advantages, which if not apparent at the moment, reveal themselves in time. Such, O king, is my advice; and little does it become you, O son of Gobryas, to speak of the Greeks in a language foolish as well as false. By calumniating Greece, you excite your sovereign to war, the great object of all your zeal: but I intreat you to forbear; calumny is a restless vice, where it is indulged there are always two who offer injury. The calumniator himself is injurious, because he traduces an absent person; he is also injurious who suffers himself to be persuaded without investigating the truth. The person traduced is doubly injured, first by him who propagates, and secondly by him who receives the calumny. If this war be a measure of necessity, let it be prosecuted; but let the king remain at home with his subjects. Suffer

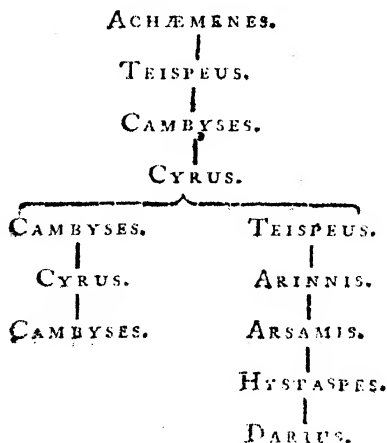
<sup>17</sup> *Perfect wisdom.*—The English reader may perhaps thank me for taking this opportunity of relating an anecdote of the celebrated Buffon, not generally known. That perfect wisdom is the attribute of Heaven only, no human being, we should suppose, would be inclined to controvert; yet Buffon, during his life-time, suffered a statue to be erected to him with this remarkable inscription, MAJESTATI NATURÆ PAR INGENIUM, which can surely be applicable to the Deity alone.—7.

“ the children of us two to remain in his power,  
“ as the test of our different opinions; and do you,  
“ Mardonius, conduct the war with whatever forces  
“ you shall think expedient. If, agreeably to your  
“ representations, the designs of the king shall be  
“ successful, let me and my children perish; but if  
“ what I predict shall be accomplished, let your  
“ children die, and yourself too, in case you shall  
“ return. If you refuse these conditions, and are  
“ still resolved to lead an army into Greece, I do  
“ not hesitate to declare, that all those who shall  
“ be left behind will hear that Mardonius, after  
“ having involved the Persians in some conspicuous calamity, became a prey to dogs and ravenous birds, in the territories either of Athens  
“ or Lacedæmon, or probably during his march  
“ thither. Thus you will know, by fatal experience, what those men are against whom you  
“ endeavour to persuade the king to prosecute a  
“ war.”

XI. When Artabanus had finished, Xerxes thus angrily replied: “ Artabanus, you are my father’s  
“ brother, which alone prevents your receiving  
“ the chastisement due to your foolish speech,  
“ This mark of ignominy shall however adhere to  
“ you—as you are so dastardly and mean, you shall  
“ not accompany me to Greece, but remain at  
“ home, the companion of our women. Without  
“ your assistance, I shall proceed in the accomplishment of my designs; for I should ill deserve  
“ to

“ to be esteemed the son of Darius<sup>18</sup>, who was the  
 “ son of Hystaspes, and reckoned amongst his an-  
 “ cestors Arsamis, Arinnis, Teispheus, Cyrus, Cam-  
 “ byses, Teispheus, and Achæmenes, if I did not  
 “ gratify my revenge upon the Athenians. I am  
 “ well assured, that if we on our parts were tran-  
 “ quil they would not, but would invade and  
 “ ravage our country. This we may reasonably  
 “ conclude from their burning of Sardis, and their  
 “ incursions into Asia. Neither party can there-  
 “ fore recede; we must advance to the attack of  
 “ the Greeks, or we must prepare to sustain theirs;  
 “ we must either submit to them, or they to us; in  
 “ enmities like these there can be no medium.  
 “ Injured as we have been, it becomes us to seek  
 “ for revenge; for I am determined to know what  
 “ evil is to be dreaded from those whom Pelops the

<sup>18</sup> *Son of Darius.*]—The following was the genealogy of this family:



“ Phrygian,

“ Phrygian, the slave of my ancestors, so effectually  
 “ subdued, that even to this day they, as well as  
 “ their country, are distinguished by his name.”

XII. On the approach of evening the sentiments of Artabanus gave great disquietude to Xerxes, and after more serious deliberation with himself in the night, he found himself still less inclined to the Grecian war. Having decided on the subject, he fell asleep, when, as the Persians relate, the following vision appeared to him:—He dreamed that he saw before him a man of unusual size and beauty, who thus addressed him: “ Are you then deter-  
 “ mined, O Persian, contrary to your former reso-  
 “ lutions, not to lead an army against Greece, al-  
 “ though you have ordered your subjects to pre-  
 “ pare their forces? This change in your senti-  
 “ ments is absurd in itself, and will certainly be  
 “ censured by the world. Resume therefore, and  
 “ persist in what you had resolved by day.” Hav-  
 ing said this, the vision disappeared.

XIII. The impression made by the vision vanished with the morning. Xerxes a second time convoked the former meeting, and again addressed them: “ Men of Persia,” said he, “ you will for-  
 “ give me, if my former sentiments are changed.  
 “ I am not yet arrived at the full maturity of my  
 “ judgment; and they who wish me to prosecute  
 “ the measures which I before seemed to approve,  
 “ do not remit their importunities. When I first  
 “ heard the opinion of Artabanus, I yielded to  
 “ the

“the emotions of youth, and expressed myself  
“ more petulantly than was becoming to a man of  
“ his years. To prove that I see my indiscretion,  
“ I am resolved to follow his advice. It is not  
“ my intention to undertake an expedition against  
“ Greece; remain therefore in tranquillity.”—The  
Persians, hearing these sentiments, prostrated them-  
selves with joy before the king.

XIV. On the following night the same phantom appeared a second time to Xerxes in his sleep, and spake to him as follows: “ Son of Darius, disregarding my admonitions as of no weight or signification, you have publicly renounced all thoughts of war. Hear what I say: unless you immediately undertake that which I recommend, the same short period of time which has seen you great and powerful, shall behold you reduced and abject.”

XV. Terrified at the vision, the king leaped from his couch, and sent for Artabanus. As soon as he approached, “ Artabanus,” exclaimed Xerxes, “ in return for your salutary counsel, I reproached and insulted you; but as soon as I became master of myself I endeavoured to prove my repentance, by adopting what you proposed. This however, whatever may be my wishes, I am unable to do. As soon as my former determinations were changed, I beheld in my sleep a vision, which first endeavoured to dissuade me, and has this moment left me with threats. If what I have seen proceed from the interference of some  
“ deity



“ deity, who is solicitous that I should make war on  
 “ Greece, it will doubtless appear to you, and give  
 “ you a similar mandate. This will I think be the  
 “ case, if you will assume my habit, and after sitting  
 “ on my throne retire to rest in my apartment.”

XVI. Artabanus was at first unwilling to comply, alledging that he was not worthy to sit on the throne of the king<sup>19</sup>. But being urged, he finally acquiesced, after thus expressing his sentiments :  
 “ I am of opinion, O king, that to think well, and  
 “ to follow what is well-advised, is alike commend-  
 “ able<sup>20</sup> : both these qualities are yours ; but the  
 “ artifice of evil counsellors misleads you. Thus,  
 “ the ocean is of itself most useful to mankind, but  
 “ the stormy winds render it injurious, by disturbing

<sup>19</sup> *Of the king.*]—To sit on the king's throne, was in Persia deemed a capital offence.

<sup>20</sup> *Alike commendable.*]—Larcher at this passage quotes the two following sentences, from Livy and from Cicero.

*Sæpe ego audivi milites cum primum esse virum qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui bene morenti obediat.*

I have often heard, my fellow-soldiers, that he was first to be esteemed who gave advice suitable to the occasion ; and that he deserved the second place who followed it.—*Livy. xxii. 29.*

*Sapientissimum dicunt eum cui quod opus sit veniat in mentem, proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene inventis obtemperet.* Which passage of Cicero, pro Cluentio, may be rendered nearly the same as that from Livy. The sentiment is originally Hesiod's, and is by him beautifully expressed in his *Works and Days*, ver. 293. It has been imitated also by Sophocles, in his *Antigone*. The turn Cicero gives it is curious enough : “ In folly,” he says, “ it is just the contrary, the greatest fool is he who thinks of an absurdity ; the next he who adopts it.” This is perfectly true.—*T.*

" its natural surface. Your reproaches gave me  
 " less uneasiness than to see that when two opinions  
 " were submitted to public deliberation, the one  
 " aiming to restrain, the other to countenance the  
 " pride of Persia, you preferred that which was  
 " full of danger to yourself and your country, re-  
 " jecting the wiser counsel, which pointed out the  
 " evil tendency of ambition. Now that you have  
 " changed your resolution with respect to Greece,  
 " a phantom has appeared, and, as you say, by some  
 " divine interposition, forbidding your present pur-  
 " pose of dismissing your forces. But, my son, I  
 " dispute the divinity of this interposition, for of  
 " the fallacy of dreams I, who am more experienced  
 " than yourself, can produce sufficient testimonies.  
 " Dreams in general originate from those incidents  
 " which have most occupied the thoughts during  
 " the day<sup>21</sup>. Two days since, you will remember,  
 " that this expedition was the object of much  
 " warm discussion: but if this vision be really sent  
 " from heaven, your reasoning upon it is just, and  
 " it will certainly appear to me as it has done to  
 " you, expressing itself to a similar effect; but it  
 " will not shew itself to me dressed in your robes,  
 " and reclining on your couch, sooner than if I

<sup>21</sup> *During the day.*]—After all that has been said and written on the subject of dreams, I shall I hope be excused, when I confess that the following words of Mr. Locke are to me quite satisfactory on the subject.

" The dreams of sleeping men are all made up of the waking man's ideas, though for the most part oddly put together."—2.

" were

“ were in my own habit and my own apartment.  
 “ No change of dress will induce the phantom, if  
 “ it does appear, to mistake me for you. If it  
 “ shall hold me in contempt, it will not appear to  
 “ me, however I may be cloathed. It unquestion-  
 “ ably however merits attention ; its repeated ap-  
 “ pearance I myself must acknowledge to be a  
 “ proof of its divinity. If you are determined in  
 “ your purpose, I am ready to go to rest in your  
 “ apartment : but till I see the phantom myself I  
 “ shall retain my former opinions.”

XVII. Artabanus, expecting to find the king's dream of no importance, did as he was ordered. He accordingly put on the robe of Xerxes, seated himself on the royal throne, and afterwards retired to the king's apartment. The same phantom which had disturbed Xerxes appeared to him<sup>22</sup>, and thus addressed him : “ Art thou the man who, pretend-  
 “ ing to watch over the conduct of Xerxes, art  
 “ endeavouring to restrain his designs against  
 “ Greece ? Your perverseness shall be punished  
 “ both now and in future ; and as for Xerxes him-  
 “ self, he has been forewarned of the evils he will  
 “ suffer, if disobedient to my will.”

XVIII. Such were the threats which Artabanus heard from the spectre, which at the same time made an effort to burn out his eyes with a hot iron.

<sup>22</sup> *Appeared to him.*]—Larcher reasonably supposes that this was a plot of Mardonius to impose on Xerxes ; and that some person, dressed and disguised for the purpose, acted the part of the ghost.

Alarmed at his danger, Artabanus leaped from his couch, and uttering a loud cry, went instantly to Xerxes. After relating his vision, he thus spake to him: "Being a man, Oh king, of much experience, and having seen the undertakings of the powerful foiled by the efforts of the weak, I was unwilling that you should indulge the fervour of your age. Of the ill effects of inordinate ambition I had seen a fatal proof, in the expedition which Cyrus undertook against the Massagetae; I knew also what became of the army of Cambyses in their attack of Æthiopia; and lastly, I myself witnessed the misfortunes of Darius in his hostilities with the Scythians. The remembrance of these incidents induced me to believe that if you continued a peaceful reign, you would beyond all men deserve the character of happy: but as your present inclination seems directed by some supernatural influence, and as the Greeks seem marked out by Heaven for destruction, I acknowledge that my sentiments are changed; do you therefore make known to the Persians the extraordinary intimations you have received, and direct your dependants to hasten the preparations you had before commanded. Be careful, in what relates to yourself, to second the intentions of the gods."—The vision indeed had so powerfully impressed the minds of both, that as soon as the morning appeared Xerxes communicated his intentions to the Persians; which Artabanus, in opposition to his former sentiments, now openly and warmly approved.

XIX. Whilst every thing was making ready for his departure, Xerxes saw a third vision: The magi to whom it was related were of opinion that it portended to Xerxes unlimited and universal empire. The king conceived himself to be crowned with the wreath of an olive-tree, whose branches covered all the earth, but that this wreath suddenly and totally disappeared. After the above interpretation of the magi had been made known in the national assembly of the Persians, the governors departed to their several provinces, eager to execute the commands they had received, in expectation of the promised reward.

XX. Xerxes was so anxious to complete his levies, that no part of the continent was left without being ransacked for this purpose. After the reduction of Ægypt, four entire years were employed in assembling the army and collecting provisions; but in the beginning of the fifth<sup>23</sup> he began his march, with an immense body of forces. Of all the military expeditions the fame of which

<sup>23</sup> *Beginning of the fifth.*]—Darius was three years in preparing for an expedition against Greece; in the fourth Ægypt revolted, and in the following year Darius died; this therefore was the fifth year after the battle of Marathon. Xerxes employed four years in making preparations for the same purpose; in the fifth he began his march, he advanced to Sardis, and there wintered; in the beginning of the following spring he entered Greece. This therefore was in the eleventh year after the battle of Marathon; which account agrees with that given by Thucydides.—T.

Has come down to us, this was far the greatest, much exceeding that which Darius undertook against Scythia, as well as the incursion made by the Scythians, who pursuing the Cimmerians, entered Media, and made themselves entire masters of almost all the higher parts of Asia; an incursion which afforded Darius the pretence for his attack on Scythia. It surpasses also the famous expedition of the sons of Atreus against Troy, as well as that of the Mysians and Teucrians before the Trojan war. These nations, passing over the Bosphorus into Europe, reduced all the inhabitants of Thrace, advancing to the Ionian sea, and thence as far as the southern part of the river Peneus.

XXI. None of the expeditions already mentioned, nor indeed any other, may at all be compared with this of Xerxes. It would be difficult to specify any nation of Asia which did not accompany the Persian monarch against Greece, or any waters, except great rivers, which were not exhausted by his armies. Some supplied ships, some a body of infantry, others of horse; some provided transports for the cavalry and the troops; others brought long ships to serve as bridges; many also brought vessels laden with corn, all which preparations were made for three years, to guard against a repetition of the calamities which the Persian fleet had formerly sustained in their attempts to double the promontory of mount Athos. The place of rendezvous for the triremes was at Elæos of the Chersonese, from whence de-

tachments from the army were sent, and by force of blows compelled to dig a passage through mount Athos<sup>24</sup>, with orders to relieve each other at certain regular intervals. The undertaking was assisted by those who inhabited the mountain, and the conduct of the work was confided to Bubaris, the son of Megabyzus, and Antachæus, son of Artæus, both of whom were Persians.

XXII. Athos is a large and noble mountain, projecting into the sea, and inhabited; where it terminates on the land side it has the appearance of a peninsula, and forms an isthmus of about twelve stadia in breadth: the surface of this is interspersed with several small hills, reaching from the Acanthian sea to that of Torone<sup>25</sup>, which is oppo-

<sup>24</sup> *Through mount Athos.*]—This incident Mr. Richardson conceives to be utterly incredible. This promontory was, as he justly remarks, no more than 200 miles from Athens: and yet Xerxes is said to have employed a number of men, three years before his crossing the Hellespont, to separate it from the continent, and make a canal for his shipping. Themistocles also, who from the time of the battle of Marathon had been incessantly alarming the Athenians with another Persian invasion, never endeavoured to support his opinion by any allusion to this canal, the very digging of which must have filled all Greece with astonishment, and been the subject of every public conversation.—See Richardson farther on this subject, Dissertation, p. 312. Pococke, who visited mount Athos, deems also the event highly improbable, and says that he could not perceive the smallest vestige of any such undertaking.—T.

<sup>25</sup> *Torone.*]—There were two places of this name, one on the coast of Epirus, the other this bay in Macedonia, where the roaring of the sea was so loud, that the expression *jurdior Toronæo ponto*, became proverbial.—T.

Site. Where mount Athos terminates, stands a Grecian city, called Sana; in the interior parts, betwixt Sana and the elevation of Athos, are situated the towns of Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssum, and Cleonæ, inhabited by Greeks. These it was the object of the Persians to detach from the continent.

XXIII. They proceeded to dig in this manner: the Barbarians marked out the ground in the vicinity of Sana with a rope, assigning to each nation their particular station; then sinking a deep trench, whilst they at the bottom continued digging, the nearest to them handed the earth to others standing immediately above them upon ladders; it was thus progressively elevated, till it came to the summit, where they who stood received and carried it away. The brink of the trench giving way, except in that part where the Phœnicians were employed, occasioned a double labour; and this, as the trench was no wider at top than at bottom, was unavoidable. But in this, as in other instances, the Phœnicians discovered their superior sagacity, for in the part allotted to them they commenced by making the breadth of the trench twice as large as was necessary; and thus proceeding in an inclined direction, they made their work at the bottom of the prescribed dimensions. In this part was a meadow, which was their public place for business and for commerce, and where a vast quantity of corn was imported from Asia.



XXIV. The motive of Xerxes in this work<sup>26</sup> was, as far as I am able to conjecture, the vain desire of exhibiting his power, and of leaving a monument to posterity. When with very little trouble he might have transported his vessels over the isthmus, he chose rather to unite the two seas by a canal, of sufficient diameter to admit two triremes a-breast. Those employed in this business were also ordered to throw bridges over the river Strymon.

XXV. For these bridges Xerxes provided cordage made of the bark<sup>27</sup> of the biblos, and of white flax. The care of transporting provisions for the army was committed jointly to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, that the troops, as well as the beasts of burden, in this expedition to Greece, might not suffer from famine. After examining into the nature of the country, he directed stores to be depo-

<sup>26</sup> *In this work.*]—Plutarch, in his treatise de Ira cohibenda, has preserved a ridiculous letter, supposed to have been written by Xerxes to mount Athos. It was to this effect: "Oh thou miserable Athos, whose top now reaches to the heavens, I give thee in charge not to throw any great stones in my way, which may impede my work; if thou shalt do this I will cut thee in pieces, and cast thee into the sea."

This threat to the mountain is however at least as sensible as the chastisement inflicted upon the Hellespont; so that if one anecdote be true, the other may also obtain credit.—*T.*

<sup>27</sup> *Of the bark.*]—The Indians make very strong cordage of the bark of the cocoa-tree. The English word *cordage* comes from the Greek word χορδή, chorde, a kind of gut of which cord was made.—*T.*

sited in every more convenient situation, which were supplied by transports and vessels of burden, from the different parts of Asia. Of these the greater number were carried to that part of Thrace which is called the "White Coast;" others to Tyrodiza of the Perinthians; the remainder were severally distributed at Doriscus, at Eïon on the banks of the Strymon, and in Macedonia.

XXVI. Whilst these things were carrying on, Xerxes, at the head of all his land forces, left Critalis in Cappadocia, and marched towards Sardis: it was at Critalis that all those troops were appointed to assemble who were to attend the king by land; who the commander was, that received from the king the promised gifts, on account of the number and goodness of his troops, I am unable to decide, nor indeed can I say whether there was any competition on the subject. Passing the river Halys<sup>28</sup>, they came to Phrygia, and advancing forwards, arrived at Celænæ, where are the fountains of the Mæander, as well as those of another river of equal size with the Mæander, called Catarracte, which rising in the public square of Celænæ, empties itself into the Mæander. In the forum of this city is

<sup>28</sup> *Halys*.]—If the reader will be pleased to remember, that Herodotus makes the river Halys the boundary of the kingdoms of Cyrus and Cræsus, it may lead to some interesting and useful reflections on the progress of ambition, and the fate of empires.—*T.*

suspended the skin of Marfyas <sup>29</sup>, which the Phrygians say was placed there after he had been flayed by Apollo.

XXVII. In this city lived a man named Pythius, son of Atys, a native of Lydia, who entertained Xerxes and all his army with great magnificence: he farther engaged to supply the king with money for the war. Xerxes was on this induced to enquire of his Persian attendants who this Pythius was, and what were the resources which enabled him to make these offers: "It is the same," they replied, "who presented your father Darius with a plane-tree and a vine of gold, and who, next to yourself, is the richest of mankind <sup>30</sup>."

## XXVIII.

<sup>29</sup> *Marfyas*.]—This story must be sufficiently familiar; see Ovid. *Metamorph.* l. vi. 382.

The punishment of Marfyas, says Licetus, was only an allegory. Before the invention of the lyre, the flute was the first of all musical instruments; after the introduction of the lyre, the flute came into disrepute, and nothing was to be gained by excelling on it. Pausanias, describing one of the pictures of Polygnotus, in his book of the Territories of Phocis, says, that in one of the temples of Delphi was a picture, which contained, amongst other figures, Marfyas sitting upon a rock, and the youth Olympus by him, who seems to be learning to play on the flute.—T.

<sup>30</sup> *Richest of mankind*.]—Many wonderful anecdotes are related of the riches of individuals in more ancient times; among which this does not seem to be the least marvellous. The sum of which Pythius is said to have been possessed amounted to five

XXVIII. These last words filled Xerxes with astonishment; and he could not refrain from asking Pythius himself what was the amount of his wealth: "Sir," he replied, "I conceal nothing

five millions and a half of our sterling money: this is according to the estimate of Prideaux; that given by Montfaucon differs essentially. "The denii," says this last writer, "weighed eight modern louis d'ors; therefore Pythius possessed thirty-two millions of louis d'ors." If so great then was the wealth of a single dependant on the sovereign of Persia, what must have been the riches of all the satraps, princes, nobility, &c. collectively?

Montfaucon, relating the story of Pythius, adds these reflections:

"A man might in those days safely be rich, provided he obtained his riches honestly; and how great must have been the circulation in commerce, if a private man could amass so prodigious a sum!" The wealth which the Roman Crassus possessed was not much inferior; when he had consecrated a tenth of his property to Hercules, and at ten thousand tables feasted all the people of Rome, besides giving as much corn to every citizen as was sufficient to last him three months, found himself still possessed of 7100 Roman talents, equivalent to a million and a half of our money. The gold which Solomon employed in overlaying the sanctum sanctorum of the temple, which was no more than thirty feet square, and thirty feet high, amounted to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. The gold which he had in one year from Ophir was equal to three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds; his annual tribute in gold, besides silver, was four millions seven hundred ninety-five thousand two hundred pounds. Lucullus the Roman senator, whenever he supped in his room called the Apollo, expended fifty thousand Roman denarii, nearly equal to fifteen hundred pounds. See Plutarch, Montfaucon, and Prideaux. This story is related differently in Plutarch's treatise de Virtutibus Mulierum.—T.

“ from you, nor affect ignorance; but as I am able  
 “ I will fairly tell you.—As soon as I heard of  
 “ your approach to the Grecian sea, I was desirous  
 “ of giving you money for the war; on examining  
 “ into the state of my affairs, I found that I was  
 “ possessed of two thousand talents of silver, and  
 “ four millions, wanting only seven thousand, of  
 “ gold staters of Darius; all this I give you—my  
 “ slaves and my farms will be sufficient to main-  
 “ tain me.”

XXIX. “ My Lydian friend,” returned Xerxes,  
 much delighted, “ since I first left Persia, you are  
 “ the only person who have treated my army with  
 “ hospitality, or who, appearing in my presence,  
 “ have voluntarily offered me a supply for the war;  
 “ you have done both; in acknowledgment for  
 “ which I offer you my friendship; you shall be  
 “ my host, and I will give you the seven thousand  
 “ staters, which are wanting to make your sum of  
 “ four millions compleat.—Retain, therefore, and  
 “ enjoy your property; persevere in your present  
 “ mode of conduct, which will invariably operate  
 “ to your happiness.”

XXX. Xerxes having performed what he pro-  
 mised, proceeded on his march; passing by a Phry-  
 gian city, called Anaua, and a lake from which  
 salt is made, he came to Colossæ<sup>31</sup>. This also is a  
 city

<sup>31</sup> *Colossæ*—or Celossis, a town of Phrygia, near Laodicea,

city of Phrygia, and of considerable eminence; here the Lycus disappears, entering abruptly a chasm in the earth, but at the distance of seven stadia it again emerges, and continues its course to the Mæander. The Persian army, advancing from Colossæ, came to Cydrara, a place on the confines of Phrygia and Lydia; here a pillar had been erected by Cræsus, with an inscription defining the boundaries of the two countries.

XXXI. On entering Lydia from Phrygia they came to a place where two roads met, the one on the left leading to Caria, the other on the right to Sardis: to those who go by the latter it is necessary to cross the Mæander, and to pass Callatebus, a city where honey is made of the tamarisk and wheat. Xerxes here found a plane-tree, so very beautiful, that he adorned it with chains of gold, and assigned the guard of it<sup>32</sup> to one of the immortal band<sup>33</sup>; the next day he came to the principal city of the Lydians.

XXXII. When arrived at Sardis, his first step on the confines of Caria. This place is memorable in scripture, on account of the epistle addressed by St. Paul to its inhabitants.—*T.*

<sup>32</sup> *The guard of it.*]—This caprice of Xerxes is ridiculed by Ælian, l. ii. c. 14. but with no great point or humour. He remarks, that the beauty of a tree consists in its firm root, its spreading branches, its thick leaves, but that the bracelets of Xerxes, and gold of Barbarians, would certainly be no addition to its excellence.—*T.*

<sup>33</sup> *Immortal band.*]—See on this subject, chapter 83.

was

was to send heralds into Greece, demanding earth and water, and commanding preparations should be made to entertain him. He did not, however, send either to Athens or Lacedæmon: his motive for repeating the demand to the other cities, was, the expectation that they who had before refused earth and water to Darius would, from their alarm at his approach, send it now; this he wished positively to know.

XXXIII. Whilst he was preparing to go to Abydos, others were employed in throwing a bridge over the Hellespont, from Asia to Europe: betwixt Sestos and Madytus, in the Chersonese of the Hellespont, the coast towards the sea from Abydos is rough and woody. After this period, and at no remote interval of time, Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, and commander of the Athenians, in this place took Antayctes, a Persian, and governor of Sestos, prisoner; he was crucified alive: he had formerly carried some females to the temple of Protefilaus in Ekeos, and perpetrated what is detestable.

XXXIV. They on whom the office was imposed proceeded in the work of the bridge, commencing at the side next Abydos. The Phœnicians used a cordage made of linen, the Ægyptians the bark of the biblos: from Abydos to the opposite continent is a space of seven stadia<sup>34</sup>. The  
bridge

<sup>34</sup> *Seven stadia.*]—The Hellespont was so called by the ancients\*

bridge was no sooner completed, than a great tempest arose, which tore in pieces and destroyed the whole of their labour.

XXXV. When Xerxes heard of what had happened, he was so enraged, that he ordered three hundred lashes to be inflicted<sup>35</sup> on the Hellepont, and

cients because Helle, attempting to swim over here, on the ram with the golden fleece, was drowned. The Europeans call it the Dardaneiles, as well as the castles about the middle of it : the Turks give it the name of Bogas' (the mouth or entrance.) The entrance to the Dardanelles is now to be computed from the Asia light-house, about a league without Lamsac, and from the Europe light-house, half a league to the north of Gallipoli ; the whole length is about twenty-six miles : the broadest part is not computed to be above four miles over, though at Gallipoli it was judged by the ancients to be five miles, and from Sestus to Abydus only seven stadia.—*Pococke*.

On a reconnu dans ces derniers temps que ce trajet, le plus resserré de tout le detroit, n'est que d'environ 375 toises  $\frac{1}{2}$ , les ponts ayant 7 stades de longueur ; M. d'Anville en a conclu que ces stades n'étoient que de 51 toises.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*.

<sup>35</sup> *To be inflicted.*]—Juvenal makes a happy use of this historical anecdote, Sat. x. 179. •

Ille tamen (Xerxes) qualis rediit Salamine relictâ  
In corum atque Eurum solitus favire flagellis.  
Barbarus, Æolio nunquam hoc in carcere passos,  
Ipsum compeditus qui vinxerat Ennosigæum  
Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum  
Credidit.

Of. which lines this is Dryden's translation :

But how did he return this haughty brave,  
Who whipt the winds, and made the sea his slave ?

Tho'



and a pair of fetters to be thrown into the sea. I have been informed that he even sent some executioners to brand the Hellespont with marks of ignominy; but it is certain, that he ordered them who inflicted the lashes to use these barbarous and mad expressions: "Thou ungracious water, thy master  
 " condemns thee to this punishment, for having  
 " injured him without provocation. Xerxes the  
 " king will pass over thee, whether thou consentest  
 " or not: just is it that no man honours thee with  
 " sacrifice, for thou art insidious, and of an ungrate-  
 " ful flavour." After thus treating the sea, the king commanded those who presided over the construction of the bridge to be beheaded.

XXXVI. These commands were executed by those on whom that displeasing distinction was conferred. A bridge was then constructed by a different set of architects, who performed it in the following manner: they connected together ships of different kinds, some long vessels of fifty-oars, others three-banked galleys, to the number of three hundred and sixty on the side towards the Euxine sea, and three hundred and thirteen on that of the Hellespont<sup>36</sup>. The former of these were placed transversely,

Tho' Neptune took unkindly to be bound,  
 And Eurys never such hard usage found  
 In his Æolian prison under ground.

}

The reader will observe that the more pointed part of the passage is totally omitted by Dryden.—T.

<sup>36</sup> *On that of the Hellespont.*]—It seems a matter of certainty that .

transversely, but the latter, to diminish the strain upon the cables, in the direction of the current. When these vessels were firmly connected to each other, they were secured on each side by anchors of great length; on the upper side, because of the winds which set in from the Euxine; on the lower, towards the Ægean sea, on account of the south and south-east winds<sup>37</sup>. They left, however, open-

that these numbers must be erroneous.—Vessels placed transversely must reach to a much greater extent than the same number placed side by side; yet here the greater number of ships is stated to have been on the side where they were arranged transversely, that is, across the channel, with their broad-sides to the stream. What the true numbers were it is vain to conjecture, it is sufficient to have pointed out that the present must be wrong.—*T*.

<sup>37</sup> *The south and south-east winds.*]—At first sight it appears that the west winds were most to be dreaded on that side; but the western side of the channel is sheltered by the shore of the Chersonese, and it turns in such a manner, as to bring the south-east winds, as well as the south, to act against that side. It seems extraordinary that no mention is here made of the current, as making anchors necessary on the upper side. I am tempted to think that some words expressing that circumstance have been lost from the text: we might perhaps read *της εἰς, καὶ τὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ, ἀνέμου*, instead of *της ἐπὶ, τὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ*: the first *της ἐπὶ* being not necessary to the constitution, though very consistent with it. I conceive each range of vessels to have been secured by anchors above and below, the transverse ships having them from each side, those placed with the current, at head and stern, so that there were in all four sets of anchors: or, perhaps, the cables extended from shore to shore secured each range of vessels on the inner side; if so, there would be only two sets of anchors, one from the upper sides of the transverse ships, the other from one end of those which lay side by side.—*T*.

ings in three places, sufficient to afford a passage for light vessels, which might have occasion to sail into the Euxine or from it: having performed this, they extended cables from the shore<sup>3</sup>, stretching them upon large capstans of wood; for this purpose they did not employ a number of separate cables, but united two of white flax with four of biblos. These were alike in thickness, and apparently so in goodness, but those of flax were in proportion much the more solid, weighing not less than a talent to every cubit. When the pass was thus secured, they sawed out rafters of wood, making their length equal to the space required for the bridge; these they laid in order across upon the extended cables, and then bound them fast together. They next brought unwrought wood, which they placed very regularly upon the rafters; over all they threw earth, which they raised to a proper height, and finished all by a fence on each side, that the horses and other beasts of burden might not be terrified by looking down upon the sea.

XXXVII. The bridges were at length completed, and the work at mount Athos finished: to prevent the canal at this last place being

<sup>3</sup> *Extended cables from the shore.*]—That is, from shore to shore, and doubtless within each range of ships, at such a distance from each other as to be of a convenient breadth for the bridge; thus the ships served as piers to support the weight, and the cables resting on the vessels, or something projecting from them, formed the foundation for the road by which the army was to pass.

choked up by the flow of the tides, deep trenches were sunk at its mouth. The army had wintered at Sardis, but on receiving intelligence of the above, they marched at the commencement of the spring for Abydos. At the moment of their departure, the sun, which before gave his full light, in a bright unclouded atmosphere, withdrew his beams, and the darkest night succeeded. Xerxes, alarmed at the incident, consulted the magi upon what it might portend. They replied, that the protection of Heaven was withdrawn from the Greeks; the sun, they observed, was the tutelar divinity of Greece, as the moon was of Persia<sup>32</sup>. The answer was so satisfactory to Xerxes, that he proceeded with increased alacrity.

XXXVIII. During the march, Pythius the Lydian, who was much intimidated by the prodigy which had appeared, went to the king; deriving confidence from the liberality he had shewn and received, he thus addressed him: "Sir," said he, "I entreat a favour no less trifling to you than important to myself." Xerxes, not imagining what he was about to ask, promised to grant it, and desired to know what he would have. Pythius on this became still more bold: "Sir," he returned, "I have five sons, who are all with you in this

<sup>32</sup> *The moon was of Persia.*]—Several of the Oriental nations worshipped the moon as a divinity. The Jews were reprov'd for doing this by the prophet Jeremiah; see chap. xlv. 17.

"Let us sacrifice to the queen of heaven, and pour out our drink-offerings unto her, &c."—T.

“ Grecian expedition ; I would entreat, you to  
 “ pity my age, and dispense with the presence of  
 “ the eldest. Take with you the four others, but  
 “ leave this to manage my affairs ; so may you re-  
 “ turn in safety, after the accomplishment of your  
 “ wishes.”

XXXIX. Xerxes, in great indignation<sup>40</sup>, made  
 this reply : “ Infamous man ! you see me embark  
 “ my all in this Grecian war ; myself, my children,  
 “ my brothers, my domestics, and my friends ;  
 “ how dare you then presume to mention your son,  
 “ you who are my slave, and whose duty it is to  
 “ accompany me on this occasion with all your fa-  
 “ mily, and even your wife<sup>41</sup> ?—Remember this,  
 “ the spirit of a man resides in his ears ; when he

<sup>40</sup> *Great indignation.*]—No two characters could well afford a more striking contrast to each other, than those of Darius and Xerxes : that of Darius was on various occasions marked by the tenderest humanity, it is unnecessary to specify any, as numerous instances occur in the course of this work. Xerxes, on the contrary, was insolent, imperious, and unfeeling ; and, viewing the whole of his conduct, we are at a loss which to reprobate most, his want of sagacity, of true courage, or of real sensibility. The example before us, as we have nothing on record of the softer or more amiable kind to contrast it with, as it was not only unprovoked, but as the unsolicited liberality of Pythius demanded a very different return, we are compelled to consign it to everlasting infamy, as an act of consummate meanness and brutality.—T.

<sup>41</sup> *Even your wife.*]—This expression may at first sight appear a little singular ; its apparent absurdity vanishes, when we take into consideration the jealous care with which the Orientals have in all ages secluded their women from the public eye.—T.

“ hears

“hears what is agreeable to him, the pleasure diffuses itself over all his body; but when the contrary happens he is anxious and uneasy. If your former conduct was good, and your promises yet better, you still cannot boast of having surpassed the king in liberality. Although your present behaviour is base and insolent, you shall be punished less severely than you deserve: your former hospitality preserves yourself and four of your children; the fifth, whom you most regard, shall pay the penalty of your crime.” As soon as he had finished, the king commanded the proper officers to find the eldest son of Pythius, and divide his body in two; he then ordered one part of the body to be thrown on the right side of the road, the other on the left, whilst the army continued their march betwixt them.

XL. The march was conducted in the following order: first of all went those who had the care of the baggage; they were followed by a promiscuous body of strangers of all nations, without any regularity, but to the amount of more than half the army; after these was a considerable interval, for these did not join the troops where was the king; next came a thousand horse, the flower of the Persian army, who were followed by the same number of spear-men, in like manner selected, trailing their pikes upon the ground; behind these were ten sacred horses called *Nisæan*<sup>42</sup>, with very superb

<sup>42</sup> *Nisæan*.]—Suidas says, that these horses were also remarkable for their swiftness; see article *Νισαίων*.—T.

trappings (they take their name from a certain district in Media, called Nisæus, and remarkable for producing horses of an extraordinary size); the sacred car of Jupiter was next in the procession, it was drawn by eight white horses, behind which, on foot, was the charioteer, with the reins in his hands, for no mortal is permitted to sit in this car; then came Xerxes himself, in a chariot <sup>43</sup> drawn by Nisæan horses; by his side sat his charioteer, whose name was Patiramphes, son of Otanes the Persian.

XLI. Such was the order in which Xerxes departed from Sardis; but as often as occasion required he left his chariot for a common carriage <sup>44</sup>. A thousand of the first and noblest Persians attended

<sup>43</sup> *In a chariot.*]—The curious reader will find all the different kinds of ancient chariots, and other carriages, enumerated and explained in Montfaucon's *Antiquities*.—*T.*

<sup>44</sup> *Common carriage.*]—Of the Harmamaxe Larcher remarks, that it was a carriage appropriate to females. The Greek carriages were distinguished by the different names of *αγμα*, *αμαξα*, and *οχημα*.

“The first heroes,” says Lucretius, “were mounted on horses, for chariots were a more modern invention.”—See book v.

Et prius est reppertum in equi conscendere costas,  
Et moderanter hunc frænis dextraque vigere  
Quam bijugo curru belli tentare pericla.

Mounted on well-rein'd steeds, in ancient time,  
Before the use of chariots was brought in,  
The first brave heroes fought.

See also Potter's *Antiquities of Greece*, on the Grecian chariots.—*T.*

his

his person, bearing their spears according to the custom of their country; and a thousand horse, selected like the former, immediately succeeded. A body of ten thousand chosen infantry came next; a thousand of these had at the extremity of their spears a pomegranate of gold, the remaining nine thousand, whom the former enclosed, had in the same manner pomegranates of silver. They who preceded Xerxes, and trailed their spears, had their arms decorated with gold; they who followed him had, as we have described, golden pomegranates: these ten thousand foot were followed by an equal number of Persian cavalry; at an interval of about two furlongs followed a numerous, irregular, and promiscuous multitude.

XLII. From Lydia the army continued its march along the banks of the Caicus to Mysia, and leaving mount Canæ on the left, proceeded through Atarnis to the city Carina. Moving hence over the plains of Thebes, and passing by Adramythium and Antandros, a Pelasgian city, they left mount Ida to the left, and entered the district of Ilium. In the very first night which they passed under Ida, a furious storm of thunder and lightning arose, which destroyed numbers of the troops. From hence they advanced to the Scamander<sup>45</sup>; this river first of all, after their departure from Sardis,

<sup>45</sup> *Scamander.*]—See Homer:

• Ον Ξανθον καλεουσ θεοι, ανδρες δε Σκαμανδρον.

Which the gods call Xanthus, mortals Scamander.



failed in supplying them with a quantity of water sufficient for their troops and beasts of burden.

XLIII. On his arrival at this river, Xerxes ascended the citadel of Priam, desirous of examining the place. Having surveyed it attentively, and satisfied himself concerning it, he ordered a thousand oxen to be sacrificed to the Trojan Minerva<sup>46</sup>, at the same time the magi directed libations to be offered to the manes of the heroes; when this was done a panic spread itself in the night through the army. At the dawn of morning they moved forwards, leaving to the left the towns of Rhœtion, Ophryneon, and Dardanus, which last is very near Abydos: the Gergithæ and Teucri were to their right.

XLIV. On their arrival at Abydos, Xerxes desired to take a survey of all his army: the inhabi-

<sup>46</sup> *Trojan Minerva.*]—The temple of the Trojan Minerva was in the citadel. The story of the Palladium, how essential it was deemed to the preservation of Troy, and how it was surreptitiously removed by Diomed and Ulysses, must be sufficiently known. See in particular the speech of Ulysses, in the 13th book of the *Metamorphoses*:

Quam rapui Phrygiæ signum penetrale Minervæ  
 Hostibus e mediis et se mihi comparat Ajax?  
 Nempe capi Trojam prohibebant fata sine illo.  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Verum etiam summas arces intrare, suâque  
 Eripere æde deam, &c.

Alexander the Great, when he visited Troy, did not omit offering sacrifice to the Trojan Minerva.—7.

raints had, at his previous desire, constructed for him, on an eminence, a seat of white marble; upon this he sat, and directing his eyes to the shore, beheld at one view his land and sea forces. He next wished to see a naval combat<sup>47</sup>; one was accordingly exhibited before him, in which the Phœnicians of Sidon were victorious. The view of this contest, as well as of the number of his forces, delighted Xerxes exceedingly.

XLV. When the king beheld all the Hellespont crowded with ships, and all the shore, with the plains of Abydos, covered with his troops, he at first congratulated himself as happy, but he afterwards burst into tears<sup>48</sup>.

## XLVI.

<sup>47</sup> *Naval combat.*]—The Naumachiæ constituted one of the grandest of the Roman shows, and were first exhibited at the end of the first Punic war: they were originally intended to improve the Romans in naval discipline; but in more luxurious times they were never displayed from this motive, but to indulge private ostentation, or the public curiosity.

Lampridius relates of Heliogabalus, that the artificial lake in which the vessels were to appear at a public naumachia was by his command filled with wine instead of water.—T.

<sup>48</sup> *Into tears.*]—

As down

Th' immeasurable ranks his fight was lost,  
A momentary gloom o'ercast his mind;  
While this reflection fill'd his eyes with tears—  
That, soon as time a hundred years had told,  
Not one among those millions should survive.  
Whence, to obscure thy pride, arose that cloud;

XLVI. Artabanus, the uncle of Xerxes, who with so much freedom had at first opposed the expedition against Greece, observed the king's emotion: "How different, Sir," said he, addressing him, "is your present behaviour, from what it was a few minutes since! you then esteemed yourself happy, you now are dissolved in tears." "My reflection," answered Xerxes, "on the transitory period of human life, excited my compassion for this vast multitude, not one of whom will compleat the term of an hundred years." "This," returned Artabanus, "is not to be reckoned the greatest calamity to which human beings are exposed; for, short as life is, there is no one in

Was it that once humanity could touch  
A tyrant's breast? Or rather did thy soul  
Repine, oh Xerxes, at the bitter thought  
That all thy pow'r was mortal? *Glover's Leonidas.*

Seneca justly points out the inconsistency of these tears: "The very man," says he, "who shed them was about to precipitate their fate, losing some by land, some by sea, some in battle, some in flight, in a word destroying within a very little space of time that multitude, whose death within a hundred years he now appeared to dread."—*De Brev. Vita*, c. xvii. —He also assigns, as the truer cause of his regret, the idea which concludes the above citation from Glover. Rollin has expressed the thought of Seneca with some improvement: "He might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon himself, and considered the reproaches he deserved, for being the instrument of shortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was going to sacrifice in an unjust and unnecessary war." The younger Pliny rather justifies his tears, *Ep.* iii. 7.—*T.*

“ this multitude, nor indeed in the universe, who  
 “ has been so truly happy, as not repeatedly to  
 “ have desired death rather than life. The op-  
 “ pressions of misfortune, and the pangs of disease,  
 “ render the short hours of life tedious and painful :  
 “ death thus becomes the most delightful refuge of  
 “ the unfortunate; and perhaps the invidiousness of  
 “ the deity is most apparent, by the very pleasures  
 “ we are suffered to enjoy.”

XLVII. “ Artabanus,” replied Xerxes, “ human  
 “ life is what you represent it; but we will omit  
 “ reflecting upon what fills us with uneasiness, and  
 “ enjoy the pleasures which are before us : rather  
 “ tell me, has the vision which you saw impressed  
 “ full conviction on your mind, or do your former  
 “ sentiments incline you to dissuade me from this  
 “ Grecian war?—speak without reserve.” “ May  
 “ the vision, O king,” replied Artabanus, “ which  
 “ we have mutually seen, succeed to both our  
 “ wishes! For my own part I am still so full of ap-  
 “ prehensions, as not at all to be master of myself :  
 “ after reflecting seriously on the subject, I discern  
 “ two important things, exceedingly hostile to your

XLVIII. “ What, my good friend, can these two  
 “ things possibly be?” replied Xerxes; “ do you think  
 “ unfavourably of our land army, as not being suf-  
 “ ficiently numerous? Do you imagine the Greeks  
 “ will be able to collect one more powerful? Can  
 “ you conceive our fleet inferior to that of our

“ enemies?—or do both these considerations together  
 “ distress you? If our force does not seem to you  
 “ sufficiently effective, reinforcements may soon be  
 “ provided.”

XLIX. “ No one, Sir,” answered Artabanus,  
 “ in his proper senses, could object either to your  
 “ army, or to the multitude of your fleet: should  
 “ you encrease their number, the more hostile  
 “ would the two things be of which I speak; I  
 “ allude to the land and the sea. In case of any  
 “ sudden tempest, you will find no harbour, as I  
 “ conjecture, sufficiently capacious or convenient  
 “ for the protection of your fleet; no one port  
 “ would answer this purpose, you must have the  
 “ whole extent of the continent; your being with-  
 “ out a resource of this kind should induce you  
 “ to remember that fortune commands men <sup>49</sup>, and  
 “ not men fortune. This is one of the calamities  
 “ which threaten you; I will now explain the  
 “ other: The land is also your enemy; your meet-  
 “ ing with no resistance will render it more so, as  
 “ you will be thus seduced imperceptibly to ad-

<sup>49</sup> *Fortune commands men.*]—This sentiment is beautifully expressed in Ecclesiastes, ix. 11.

“ I returned and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all.”

A moralist may perhaps be excused for adding, as a comment to the above, the simple but elegant line of Pope:

Chance is direction which thou canst not see. T.

“ vance &

“ vance; it is the nature of man, never to be satis-  
 “ fied with success: thus, having no enemy to en-  
 “ counter, every moment of time, and addition to  
 “ your progress, will be gradually introductive of  
 “ famine. He, therefore, who is truly wise, will  
 “ as carefully deliberate about the possible event of  
 “ things, as he will be bold and intrepid in  
 “ action.”

L. Xerxes made this reply: “ What you alledge,  
 “ Artabanus, is certainly reasonable; but you should  
 “ not so much give way to fear, as to see every  
 “ thing in the worst point of view: if in consult-  
 “ ing upon any matter we were to be influenced  
 “ by the consideration of every possible contin-  
 “ gency, we should execute nothing. It is better  
 “ to submit to half of the evil which may be the  
 “ result of any measure, than to remain in inacti-  
 “ vity from the fear of what may eventually occur.  
 “ If you oppose such sentiments as have been de-  
 “ livered, without informing us what more proper  
 “ conduct to pursue, you are not more deserving of  
 “ praise than they are whom you oppose. I am  
 “ of opinion that no man is qualified to speak  
 “ upon any subject with decision: they who are  
 “ bold and enterprising are more frequently suc-  
 “ cessful than they who are slow in their mea-

<sup>50</sup> *Intrepid in action.*]—Larcher quotes, as a parallel passage to this, these words from Sallust—Catilin. c. i.

Prius quam incipias consulto, et ubi consulieris mature facto opus est.

“ fures

“ fures from extreme deliberation. You are fen-  
 “ fible to what a height the power of Perfia  
 “ has arrived, which would never have been the  
 “ cafe, if my predeceffors had either been biaffed  
 “ by fuch sentiments as yours, or listened to  
 “ fuch advisers: it was their contempt of danger  
 “ which promoted their country’s glory, for great  
 “ exploits are always attended with proportion-  
 “ able danger”. We, therefore, emulous of their  
 “ reputation, have felected the beft season of the  
 “ year for our enterprize; and having effectually  
 “ conquered Europe, we will return without ex-  
 “ perience of famine or any other calamity: we  
 “ have with us abundance of provifions, and the  
 “ nations amongst which we arrive will fupply  
 “ us with corn, for they againft whom we ad-  
 “ vance are not fhepherds, but husbandmen.”

LI. “ Since, Sir,” returned Artabanus, “ you  
 “ will fuffer no mention to be made of fear, at  
 “ leaft listen to my advice: where a number of

“ *Proportionable danger.* ]—

The fteep afcent muft be with toil fubdu’d;

Watchings and cares muft win the lefty prize

Propos’d by heaven—true blifs, and real good.

Honour rewards the brave and bold alone,

She fpuins the timorous, indolent, and bafe;

Danger and toil ftand ftern before her throne,

And guard, fo Jove commands, the fared place:

Who feeks her muft the mighty coft fuftain,

And pay the price of fame—labour, and care, and pain,

*Choice of Hercules.*

“ things

“ things are to be discussed, prolixity is unavoidable.—Cyrus, son of Cambyfes, made all Ionia tributary to Persia, Athens excepted; do not, therefore, I entreat you, lead these men against those from whom they are immediately descended: without the Ionians, we are more than a sufficient match for our opponents. They must either be most base, by assisting to reduce the principal city of their country; or, by contributing to its freedom, will do what is most just. If they shall prove the former, they can render us no material service; if the latter, they may bring destruction on your army. Remember, therefore, the truth of the ancient proverb, When we commence a thing we cannot always tell how it will end.”

LII. “ Artabanus,” interrupted Xerxes, “ your suspicions of the fidelity of the Ionians must be false and injurious; of their constancy we have had sufficient testimony, as you yourself must be convinced, as well as all those who served

“ Will end.]—

Prudens futuri temporis exitum  
Caliginosa nocte premit deus  
Ridetque si mortalis ultra  
Fas trepidat, &c.

Hor.

See also Pindar, in Olympiis:

Νυν δ' ἐλπόμεαι μεν, ἐν θεῷ γὰρ πᾶν τέλος.

We may hope indeed, but the event is with God alone. T.

under



“ under Darius against the Scythians. It was in their  
“ power to save or to destroy all the forces of  
“ Persia, but they preserved their faith, their  
“ honour, and their gratitude; add to this, they  
“ have left in our dominions their wives, their  
“ children, and their wealth, and therefore dare  
“ not meditate any thing against us. Indulge,  
“ therefore no apprehensions, but cheerfully watch  
“ over my family, and preserve my authority: to  
“ you I commit the exercise of my power.”

LIII. Xerxes after this interview dismissed Artabanus to Susa, and a second time called an assembly of the most illustrious Persians. As soon as they were met he thus addressed them: “ My motive, Persians, for thus convoking you, is to  
“ entreat you to behave like men, and not dishonour the many great exploits of our ancestors:  
“ let us individually and collectively exert ourselves.  
“ We are engaged in a common cause; and I the  
“ rather call upon you to display your valour,  
“ because I understand we are advancing against a  
“ warlike people, whom if we overcome no one  
“ will in future dare oppose us. Let us, therefore,  
“ proceed, having first implored the aid of the gods  
“ of Persia.”

LIV. On the same day they prepared to pass the bridge: the next morning, whilst they waited for the rising of the sun, they burned on the bridge all manner of perfumes, and strewed the way with branches

Branches of myrtle<sup>53</sup>. When the sun appeared, Xerxes poured into the sea a libation from a golden vessel, and then addressing the sun, he implored him to avert from the Persians every calamity, till they should totally have vanquished Europe, arriving at its extremest limits. Xerxes then threw the cup into the Hellespont, together with a golden goblet, and a Persian scymetar. I am not able to determine whether the king, by throwing these things into the Hellespont, intended to make an offering to the sun, or whether he wished thus to make compensation to the sea for having formerly chastised it.

LV. When this was done, all the infantry and the horse were made to pass over that part of the bridge which was towards the Euxine; over that

<sup>53</sup> *Branches of myrtle.*]—The myrtle was with the ancients a very favourite plant, and always expressive of triumph and joy: the hero wore it as a mark of victory; the bridegroom on his bridal-day; and friends presented each other with myrtle garlands in the conviviality of the banquet. Venus is said to have been adorned with it when Paris decided in her favour the prize of beauty, and that for this reason it was deemed odious to Juno and Minerva. It was probably from this reason, that when all other flowers and shrubs might be used in the festival of the Bona Dea at Rome, myrtle alone was excluded.—See Rosinus. Harmodius and Aristogiton before mentioned, when they slew the Athenian tyrant, had their swords concealed beneath wreaths of myrtle; of which incident, as recorded in a fragment of Alcæus, Sir William Jones has made a happy use in his Poem to Liberty; I have already quoted the passage.—F.

to the Ægean went the servants of the camp, and the beasts of burden. They were preceded by ten thousand Persians, having garlands on their heads; and these were followed by a promiscuous multitude of all nations;—these passed on the first day. The first who went over the next day were the knights, and they who trailed their spears; these also had garlands on their heads: next came the sacred horses, and the sacred car; afterwards Xerxes himself, who was followed by a body of spear-men, and a thousand knights. The remainder of the army closed the procession, and at the same time the fleet moved to the opposite shore: I have heard from some, that the king himself was the last who passed the bridge.

LVI. As soon as Xerxes had set foot in Europe, he saw his troops driven over the bridge by the force of blows; and seven whole days and as many nights were consumed in the passage of his army. When Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, an inhabitant of the country is said to have exclaimed: “Why, O Jupiter, under the appearance of a Persian, and for the name of Jupiter taking that of Xerxes, art thou come to distract and persecute Greece? or why bring so vast a multitude, when able to accomplish thy purpose without them?”

LVII. When all were gone over, and were proceeding on their march, a wonderful prodigy appeared,

peared, which, though disregarded by Xerxes, had an obvious meaning—a mare brought forth a hare<sup>54</sup>: from this it might have been inferred, that Xerxes, who had led an army into Greece with much ostentation and insolence, should be involved in personal danger, and compelled to return with dishonour. Whilst yet at Sardis, he had seen another prodigy—a mule produced a young one, which had the marks of both sexes, those of the male being beneath.

LVIII. Neither of these incidents made any impression on his mind, and he continued to advance with his army by land, whilst his fleet, passing beyond the Hellespont, coasted along the shore in an opposite direction. The latter sailed towards the west to the promontory of Sarpedon, where they were commanded to remain; the former proceeded eastward through the Chersonese, having on their right the tomb of Helle, the daughter of Athamas; on their left the city of Cardia. Moving onward, through the midst of a city called Agera, they

<sup>54</sup> *Brought forth a hare.*]—In Julius Obsequens de Prodigis, chap. xxxiii. p. 20, we have an account no less remarkable, L. Posthumio Albino, Sempronio Graccho Coss. mare arsit, ad Sinuessam bos equuleum peperit.

See also the same book, on the subject of a mule's producing young.

Mula pariens, discordiam civium, bonorum interitum, mutationem legum, turpes matronarum partus significavit.—This was always deemed an unfortunate omen. See Pliny, book viii. c. 44. That mules never do produce young I have before observed.—T.

turned aside to the gulph of Melana, and a river of the same name, the waters of which were not sufficient for the troops. Having passed this river, which gives its name to the above-mentioned gulph, they directed their march westward, and passing Ænos, a city of Æolia, and the lake Stertoris, they came to Doriscus.

LIX. Doriscus is on the coast, and is a spacious plain of Thrace, through which the great river Hebrus flows. Here was a royal fort called Doriscus, in which Dorius, in his expedition against Scythia, had placed a Persian garrison. This appearing a proper place for the purpose, Xerxes gave orders to have his army here marshalled and numbered. The fleet being all arrived off the shore near Doriscus, their officers ranged them in order near where Sala, a Samothracian town<sup>55</sup>, and Zena

<sup>55</sup> *Samothracian town.*]—See Bellanger's remarks on this passage, in his *Essais de Critique*, where with great humour he compliments our countryman Littlebury, for kindly making his readers a present of two cities which never existed. Littlebury has rendered the passage thus.

“ Xerxes commanded the sea captains to bring all their ships to the shore that lay nearest to Doriscus, where the cities of Sala, Samothracia, and Zena are situate, with another called Serrium, built upon a famous promontory formerly belonging to the Ciconians.”

Voilà, ce me semble (says Bellanger) deux villes a pur gain, Samothracia avec une autre appelée Serrium. C'est de quoi enrichir les grands dictionnaires géographiques.

I have studiously avoided pointing out any errors I may have discovered in Littlebury, from the fear of being thought invidious;

Zena are situated. At the extremity of this shore is the celebrated promontory of Serrium, which formerly belonged to the Ciconians. The crews having brought their vessels to shore <sup>56</sup>, enjoyed an interval of repose, whilst Xerxes was drawing up his troops on the plain of Doriscus.

LX. I am not able to specify what number of men each nation supplied, as no one has recorded it. The whole amount of the land forces was seventeen hundred thousand <sup>57</sup>. Their mode of ascertaining

dious; I should not have done it in this instance, but that I wished to direct the reader to an excellent piece of criticism, which will at the same time reward his attention, and justify me.—*T.*

<sup>56</sup> *Vessels to shore.*]—As the vessels were not in those times so considerable as ours, they drew them on shore whenever they wanted to remain any time in one place. This custom, which we learn from Homer was in use in the time of the Trojan war, was also practised in the better ages of Greece. It is frequently mentioned by Xenophon, Thucydides, and other historians.—*Larcher.*

<sup>57</sup> *Seventeen hundred thousand.*]—I remain still in doubt, says Richardson, whether any such expedition was ever undertaken by the *paramount sovereign of Persia*. Disguised in name by some Greek corruption, Xerxes may possibly have been a feudatory prince or viceroy of the western districts; and that an invasion of Greece may have possibly taken place under this prince, I shall readily believe, but upon a scale I must also believe infinitely narrower than the least exaggerated description of the Greek historians.

In Herodotus the reputed followers of Xerxes amount to 5,283,220. Isocrates, in his Panathenaicos, estimates the land army in round numbers at 5,000,000. And with them Plu-

ascertaining the number was this: they drew up in one place a body of ten thousand men; making these stand together as compactly as possible, they drew a circle round them. Dismissing these, they enclosed

tarch in general agrees: but such myriads appeared to Diodorus, Pliny, Ælian, and other later writers, so much stretched beyond all belief, that they at once cut off about four-fifths, to bring them within the line of possibility. Yet what is this, but a singular and very unauthorized liberty in one of the most consequential points of the expedition? What circumstance in the whole narration is more explicit in Herodotus, or by its frequent repetition, not in figures, but in words at length, seems less liable to the mistake of copiers? &c.—See *Richardson*.

Upon this subject, Larcher, who probably had never seen Richardson's book, writes as follows:

This immense army astonishes the imagination, but still is not incredible. All the people dependant on Persia were slaves; they were compelled to march, without distinction of birth or profession. Extreme youth or advanced age were probably the only reasons which excused them from bearing arms. The only reasonable objection to be made to this recital of Herodotus is that which Voltaire has omitted to make—where were provisions to be had for so numerous an army? But Herodotus has anticipated this objection: "We have with us," says Xerxes, "abundance of provisions, and all the nations among which we shall come, not being shepherds, but husbandmen, we shall find corn in their country, which we shall appropriate to our own use."

Subsequent writers have, it is true, differed from Herodotus, and diminished the number of the army of Xerxes; but Herodotus, who was in some measure a cotemporary, and who recited his history to Greeks assembled at Olympia, where were many who fought at Salamis and Platea, is more deserving of credit than later historians.

The truth perhaps may lie betwixt the two different opinions of Richardson and Larcher. It is not likely, as there were  
many

enclosed the circle with a wall breast high ; into this they introduced another and another ten thousand, till they thus obtained the precise number of the whole. They afterwards ranged each nation apart.

LXI. The nations who composed the army were these. To speak of the Persians first, who wore small helmets on their heads, which they call *tiaræ* : their bodies were covered with tunics of different colours, having sleeves, and adorned with plates of steel, in imitation of the scales of fishes ; their thighs were defended, and they carried a kind of shield called *gerra*, beneath which was a quiver<sup>58</sup>. They

many exiles from Greece at the court of Persia, that Xerxes should be ignorant of the numbers and resources of Greece. To lead there so many millions seems at first sight not only unnecessary but preposterous. Admitting that so vast an army had marched against Greece, no one of common sense would have thought of making an attack by the way of Thermopylæ, where the passage must have been so tedious, and any resistance, as so few in proportion could possibly be brought to act, might be made almost on equal terms : whilst, on the contrary, to make a descent, they had the whole range of coast before them. With respect to provisions, the difficulty appears still greater, and almost insurmountable. I recur therefore to what I have before intimated ; and believe, in contradiction to Richardson, that the expedition actually took place ; but I cannot think, with Larcher, that the numbers recorded by Herodotus are consistent with probability.—7.

<sup>58</sup> *A quiver.*]—It is probable from this account, says Larcher, that on their march the Persians did not carry their shields in their hands, but suspended behind from their shoulders.



had short spears<sup>59</sup>, large bows, and arrows made of reeds; and on their right side a dagger suspended from a belt. They were led by Otanes, father of Amestris, one of the wives of Xerxes. The Persians were once called Cephenees by the Greeks; by themselves and their neighbours Artæi. But when Perseus, the son of Danae and Jupiter, went to reside with Cepheus son of Belus, he married his daughter Andromeda, and had by her a son named Peries, who was left with his grandfather. Cepheus had no male offspring, and the Persians took their name from his grandson Peries.

LXII. The Medes had the same military dress; indeed, properly speaking, it is Median and not Persian. Their leader was Tigranes, of the family of Achæmenides. In ancient times the Medes were universally called Arii; but when Medea of Colchis went over to these Arii from Athens, they changed their name; this is what they say of themselves. The armour of the Cissians generally resembled that of the Persians, except that instead of tiaræ they wore mitres: they were commanded by Anaphes, son of Otanes. The Hyrcani were also dressed like the Persians, and had for their leader Megapanus, who was afterwards governor of Babylon.

<sup>59</sup> *Short spears.*]—The reader will find an excellent description of these military habits in Montfaucon, and by no means an inelegant or incorrect one in the Leonidas of our countryman Glover.—T.

LXIII. The Assyrian forces had brazen helmets of a barbarous form, and difficult to describe. Their shields, spears, and daggers, were like those of the Egyptians; they had also large clubs pointed with iron, and linen cuirasses. These people the Greeks call Syrians, the Barbarians Assyrians; mixt with these were the Chaldæans: the whole were under the conduct of Otaspes, son of Artachæus.

LXIV. The Bactrians, in what they wore on their heads, most resembled the Medes, but after the custom of their country they used bows made of reeds, and short spears. The Sacæ, who are a Scythian nation, had helmets terminating in a point, and wore breeches. They were also armed in their country manner with bows, daggers, and a hatchet called sagaris. This people, though really the Amyrgii of Scythia, were called Sacæ, the name given by the Persians indiscriminately to all Scythians. Hytaspes, son of Darius by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Bactrians and the Sacæ.

LXV. The dress of the Indians was cotton: their bows were made of reeds, as were also their arrows, which were pointed with iron: their leader was Pharnazathres, son of Artabates. The Arii had bows like the Medes, but were in other respects equipped like the Bactrians, and were under the command of Sisamnes son of Hydarnes.

LXVI. The Parthians<sup>60</sup>, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gardarians, and the Dadicæ, had the same armour as the Bactrians. The Parthians and Chorasmians were led by Artabanus, son of Pharnaces; Azanes son of Artæus commanded the Sogdians; as did Artyphius son of Artabanus the Gardarians and Dadicæ.

LXVII. The Caspians wore a vest made of skins: they had the armour of their country, bows made of reeds, and scymetars. Ariomardus the brother of Artyphius conducted them. The Sarangæ had beautiful habits of different and splendid colours: they had buskins reaching to their knees, bows and javelins like the Medes, and Pherendates the son of Megabazus commanded them. The Pactyes also had vests made of skins, bows and daggers after the manner of their country, and Artyntes son of Ithamatres was their leader.

LXVIII. The Utii, Myci, and Paricanii, were armed like the Pactyes. The Utii and Myci had for their commander Arsamenes, son of Darius: Sirometris the son of Cæobazus conducted the Paricanii.

LXIX. The Arabians wore large folding vests,

<sup>60</sup> *Parthians, &c.*—Various and numerous as these confederates of Xerxes are here described, Lucan, in a poetical hyperbole, asserts, that the allies of Pompey were still more so.—See *L. iii. 285.—T.*

which

which they call *ziræ*: their bows were long, flexible, and crooked. The Æthiopians were clad in skins of panthers and lions: their bows were of palm, and not less than four cubits long. Their arrows were short, and made of reeds, instead of iron they were pointed with a stone which they use to cut their seals. They had also spears armed with the horns of goats, shaped like the iron of a lance; and besides these, knotty clubs. It is the custom of this people, when they advance to combat, to daub one half of their body with gypsum, the other with vermilion. Arsanes son of Darius by Artystone a daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Arabians and the Æthiopians who came from above Ægypt. Of all his wives, Darius loved Artystone the most, and he constructed a golden statue in her honour.

LXX. Those Æthiopians who came from the more eastern parts of their country (for there were two distinct bodies in this expedition) served with the Indians. These differed from the former in nothing but their language and their hair. The Oriental Æthiopians have their hair straight, those of Africa have their hair more crisp and curling than any other men. The armour of the Asiatic Æthiopians resembled that of the Indians, but on their heads they wore the skins of horses heads<sup>61</sup>,

<sup>61</sup> *Horses heads.*]—These helmets were, according to the description of Cæsar in his Commentaries, very common amongst the ancient Germans.—T.

on which the manes and ears were left. The manes served as the plumes, and the ears remained stiff and erect. Instead of shields they held out before them the skins of cranes.

LXXI. The Lybians were dressed in skins, and had the points of their spears hardened in the fire. They were conducted by Massages, son of Oarizus:

LXXII. The Paphlagonians wore helmets made of net-work; they had small spears and bucklers, besides javelins and daggers. Agreeably to the fashion of their country, they had buskins which reached to the middle of the leg. The Ligyes, Matieni, Maryandeni, and Syrians, were habited like the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are by the Persians called Cappadocians. The general of the Paphlagonians and Matieni was Dotus, son of Megastidas. The Maryandeni, Ligyes, and Syrians, were led by Bryas, son of Darius and Artystene.

LXXIII. The armour of the Phrygians differed very little from that of the Paphlagonians. According to the Macedonians, the Phrygians, as long as they were their neighbours, and lived in Europe, were called Bryges; on passing over into Asia they took the name of Phrygians<sup>62</sup>. The Armenians  
are

<sup>62</sup> *Phrygians.*]—Arrian tells us that the Phrygians were reported to be the oldest of mankind, λεγονται Φρυγες παλαιωτατοι ανθρωπων. Cited by Eust. in Com. in Dion. p. 809. The reader  
will

are a colony of the Phrygians, and were armed like them. Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius, commanded both nations.

LXXIV. The Lydians were equipped very like the Greeks. They were once called Meonians<sup>63</sup>; but they changed their ancient name, and took that of Lydus, the son of Atys. The Nysians wore the helmets of their country, had small shields, and javelins hardened in the fire. They are a colony of the Lydians, and named Olympians, from mount Olympus. These two nations were conducted by Artaphernes, son of that Artaphernes who in conjunction with Datis had invaded Marathon.

LXXV. The Thracians wore on their heads skins of foxes; the other part of their dress consisted of a tunic, below which was a large and folding robe of various colours: they had also buskins made of the skins of fawns, and were armed with

will remember that this was disputed with them by the Ægyptians, but given up after the expedient used by Psammaticus.  
—T.

<sup>63</sup> *Meonians.*]—Bochart deduces this name from the Greek *Μεωνοθαι*, and their after-name *Lydi* from the Hebrew. But it does not seem probable that the oldest name should be taken from the Greek, and the later from the Hebrew language. What is yet farther removed from consistency, he places a descendant of Shem in the lot of Japhet. and supposes the Lydians to be the children of Ludim. From him I presume they would have been called *Lydimi*, not *Lydi*.—See the invention of games imputed to this people, book i. c. 94.—T.

javelins,

javelins, small bucklers, and daggers. They were, as themselves relate, formerly called Strymonians, from inhabiting the banks of the Strymon; but passing over into Asia, were named Bithynians. They say they were expelled their country by the Teucrians and the Mysians.

LXXVI. Bassaces son of Artabanus commanded the Thracians of Asia; these used short bucklers made of hides, and each of them carried two Lycian spears: they had also helmets of brass, on the summit of which were the ears and horns of an ox, made also of brass, together with a crest. On their legs they had purple buskins. This people have amongst them an oracle of Mars<sup>64</sup>.

LXXVII. The Cabalian Meonians<sup>65</sup>, who are also called Lasonians, were habited like the Cilicians, which I shall describe in their proper order. The Milyæ carried short spears, their vests confined with clasps; some of them had Lycian bows, and they wore helmets of leather. Of all these Badres son of Hyftanes was commander. The Moschi had

<sup>64</sup> *Oracle of Mars.*]—It is thought by some, that here is something wanting; for the description which by the context seems here to be given of the Thracians, with truth will apply neither to the Thracians of Asia nor of Europe. Wesseling presumes that they may be the Chalybians, amongst whom was an oracle of Mars, and who were neighbours to the nations here described by Herodotus. Larcher also is of this opinion.

<sup>65</sup> *Cabalian Meonians.*]—These were probably the same people who are mentioned book iii. c. 90, the change of the *a* for *e* being agreeable to the Ionic dialect.

helmets of wood, small bucklers, and short spears with long iron points.

LXXVIII. The Tibareni, Macrones, and Mosynœci, were in all respects habited like the Moschi. Ariomardus son of Darius and of Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, commanded the Moschi and the Tibareni. Artayctes son of Chorasmes, who was governor of Sestos on the Hellespont, conducted the Macrones and Mosynœci.

LXXIX. The Mares, after the fashion of their country, had net-work casques, small leathern bucklers, and spears. The Colchians had helmets of wood, small bucklers made of the hard hides of oxen, short spears, and swords. Pharandates son of Teaspes commanded the Mares and the Colchians. The Allarodii and Saspines were dressed like the Colchians, and led by Masistius son of Siromitras.

LXXX. The people who came from the islands of the Red Sea, to which those who labour under the king's displeasure are exiled, were habited and armed like the Medes: they were led by Mardonites son of Bagæus, who two years afterwards was slain at the battle of Mycale, where he commanded.

LXXXI. These were the nations who proceeded over the continent, and composed the infantry of the army. Their leaders who marshalled and numbered



bered them, I have already specified: they appointed also the captains of thousands and ten thousands, who again chose the centurions and leaders of ten. The different forces and nations had also other officers, but those whom I have named were the principal commanders.

LXXXII. The generals in chief of all the infantry were Mardonius, son of Gobryas; Trintaëchmes, son of Artabanus, who had given his opinion against the Grecian war; and Smerdones, son of Oranes, which last two were sons of two brothers of Darius, the uncles of Xerxes. To the above may be added Masistes, son of Darius by Atossa, Gergis son of Arinus, and Megabyzus son of Zopyrus<sup>66</sup>.

LXXXIII. These were the commanders of all the infantry, except of the ten thousand chosen Persians, who were led by Hydarnes son of Hydarnes. These were called the immortal band, and for this reason, if any of them died in battle, or by any disease, his place was immediately supplied. They were thus never more nor less than ten thousand. The Persians surpassed all the rest of the army, not only in magnificence but valour. Their armour I have before described; they were also remarkable for the quantity of gold which adorned them:

<sup>66</sup> *Zopyrus*.]—This was the famous Zopyrus through whose means Darius became master of Babylon.—See book iii. c. 160.  
—T.

they had with them carriages for their women, and a vast number of attendants splendidly provided. They had also camels and beasts of burden to carry their provisions, besides those for the common occasions of the army.

LXXXIV. All the above nations are capable of serving on horseback; but on this expedition those only constituted the cavalry which I shall enumerate. The Persian horse, except a small number, whose casques were ornamented with brass and iron, were habited like the infantry.

LXXXV. There appeared of the Sagartii a body of eight thousand horse. These people lead a pastoral life, were originally of Persian descent, and use the Persian language: their dress is something betwixt the Persian and the Pactyan; they have no offensive weapons, either of iron or brass, except their daggers; their principal dependance in action is upon cords made of twisted leather, which they use in this manner: when they engage an enemy, they throw out these cords, having a noose at the extremity; if they entangle<sup>67</sup> in them either horse or man, they without difficulty put them to

<sup>67</sup> *If they entangle.*]—A similar mode of fighting was practised by those of the Roman gladiators who were called the Retiarii: beneath their bucklers they carried a kind of net, which, when the opportunity presented itself, they threw over the head of their adversaries the Secutores, and, thus entangled, put them to death with a kind of trident which constituted their offensive weapon.—7.

death.—These forces were embodied with° the Persians.

LXXXVI. The cavalry of the Medes, and also of the Cissians, are accoutred like their infantry. The Indian horse likewise were armed like their foot; but besides led horses, they had chariots of war, drawn by horses and wild asses<sup>68</sup>. The armour of the Bactrian and Caspian horse and foot were alike. This was also the case with the Africans, only it is to be observed that these last all fought from chariots. The Paricanian horse were also equipped like their foot, as were the Arabians, all of whom had camels, by no means inferior to the horse in swiftness.

LXXXVII. These were the cavalry, who formed a body of eighty thousand, exclusive of camels or chariots. They were drawn up in regular order, and the Arabians were disposed in the rear, that the horses might not be terrified, as a horse cannot bear a camel<sup>69</sup>.

LXXXVIII. Harmamithres and Tithæus, the sons of Datis, commanded the cavalry; they had

<sup>68</sup> *Wild asses.*]—M. Larcher renders οἷος ἀγέλοις, zebres, but I do not see that this necessarily follows. The zebra is certainly a species of wild ass; but I conceive that every wild ass is not a zebra. Buffon makes mention of wild asses very distinct from the zebra. The French translator supports his opinion from the description of the οἷος ἀγέλος in Oppian, L. iii. v. 183; but this is by no means convincing to me.—T.

<sup>69</sup> *Cannot bear a camel.*]—See note 116 to book Clit.

shared this command with Pharnuches, but he had been left at Sardis indisposed. As the troops were marching from Sardis he met with an unfortunate accident: a dog ran under the feet of his horse, which being terrified, reared up, and threw his rider. Pharnuches was in consequence seized with a vomiting of blood, which finally terminated in a consumption. His servants, in compliance with the orders of their master, led the horse to the place where the accident happened, and there cut off his legs at the knees. Thus was Pharnuches deprived of his command.

LXXXIX. The number of the triremes was twelve hundred and seven<sup>70</sup>; of these the Phœnicians,

<sup>70</sup> *Twelve hundred and seven.*]—I give the account of the Persian fleet as stated by Herodotus, that the reader may compare it with that which follows of Diodorus Siculus:

|                            |   |   |     |
|----------------------------|---|---|-----|
| The Phœnician vessels were | - | - | 300 |
| Ægyptians                  | - | - | 200 |
| Cyprians                   | - | - | 150 |
| Cilicians                  | - | - | 100 |
| Pamphylians                | - | - | 30  |
| Lycians                    | - | - | 50  |
| Dorians                    | - | - | 30  |
| Carians                    | - | - | 70  |
| Ionians                    | - | - | 100 |
| Islanders                  | - | - | 17  |
| Æolians                    | - | - | 60  |
| People of the Hellespont   | - | - | 100 |

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1,207

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According

cians, in conjunction with the Syrians of Palestine, furnished three hundred. They who served on board them had on their heads helmets nearly resembling those of the Greeks; they had breast-plates made of linen, bucklers without bosses, and javelins. This people, by their own account, once inhabited the coasts of the Red Sea<sup>21</sup>, but mi-

According to Diodorus Siculus,

|                |   |   |   |       |
|----------------|---|---|---|-------|
| The Greeks had | - | - | - | 320   |
| The Dorians    | - | - | - | 40    |
| Æolians        | - | - | - | 40    |
| Ionians        | - | - | - | 100   |
| Helleſpontians | - | - | - | 80    |
| Iſlanders      | - | - | - | 50    |
| Ægyptians      | - | - | - | 200   |
| Phœnicians     | - | - | - | 300   |
| Cilicians      | - | - | - | 80    |
| Carians        | - | - | - | 80    |
| Pamphylians    | - | - | - | 40    |
| Lycians        | - | - | - | 40    |
| Cyprians       | - | - | - | 150   |
|                |   |   |   | 1,200 |

<sup>21</sup> *Coasts of the Red Sea.*]—There were Phœnicians of different countries: they were to be found upon the Sinus Persicus, upon the Sinus Arabicus, in Ægypt, in Crete, in Africa, in Epirus, and even in Attica.—See *Herodotus*. Φοινικες γένος τι Αθηναίοι. There is a race of Phœnicians among the Athenians. In short, it was a title introduced at Sidon and the coast adjoining, by people from Ægypt; and who the people were that brought it, may be known from several passages in ancient history, but particularly from an extract in Eusebius.—See *Bryant*, vol. i. 324, 325.

grated from thence to the maritime parts of Syria ; all which district, as far as Ægypt, is denominated Palestine. The Ægyptians furnished two hundred vessels : they wore on their heads casques made of net-work ; their shields were of a convex form, having large bosses ; their spears were calculated for sea service, and they had huge battle-axes. Their forces in general had breast-plates, and large swords.

XC. The people of Cyprus supplied fifty vessels : as to their armour, their princes wore mitres on their heads ; the troops wore tunics, but were in other respects habited like the Greeks. The Cyprians, according to their own account, are variously composed of the people of Salamis and Athens ; some also came from Arcadia, some from Cythnus, others from Phœnicia, and others from Æthiopia.

XCI. From Cilicia came one hundred ships. This people had a kind of helmet peculiar to their country, and a small buckler made of the untanned hide of an ox ; they had also tunics of wool : each of them had two spears, and a sword not unlike those of Ægypt. Formerly they were called Hypachæans : they were named Cilicians from Cilex the Phœnician, the son of Agenor. The Pamphyliaus brought thirty ships, and were accoutred like the Greeks : they are descended from those who

after the destruction of Troy were dispersed under Amphiloehus and Calchas <sup>72</sup>.

XCII. Fifty ships were furnished by the Lycians, who were defended with breast-plates and a kind of buskin: besides their spears, they had bows made of cornil wood; their arrows were of reeds, but not feathered. From their shoulders the skin of a goat was suspended, and on their heads they wore a cap with a plume of feathers: they had also axes and daggers. They are descended from the Cretans, and were once called Termilæ; afterwards they took the name of Lycians, from Lycus an Athenian, the son of Pandion.

XCIII. The Dorians of Asia came in thirty vessels: these being originally from the Peloponnese, were provided with Grecian arms. The Carians had seventy ships, and were equipped in every re-

<sup>72</sup> *Calchas.*]—With the name of Calchas every one is acquainted; but few perhaps know the end he met with. Mopsus, son of Maro and Apollo, had at the death of his mother, by right of inheritance, the oracle of Apollo at Claros. About this period Calchas, who, after the taking of Troy led a wandering life, arrived at Colophon. The two seers maintained a long and obstinate dispute, till at length Amphimachus king of Lycia terminated their difference. Mopsus dissuaded him from going to war, foretelling that he would be defeated; Calchas, on the contrary, advised him to go, assuring him he would prove victorious. Amphimachus having been overcome, Mopsus received greater honours than ever, and Calchas put himself to death.—*Larcher.*

• spect like the Greeks, with the addition of axes and daggers. We have in a former place made mention of the name by which they were originally known.

XCIV. The Ionians, armed like the Greeks, appeared with a fleet of one hundred ships. According to the Grecian account, this people, when they inhabited that part of the Peloponnese called Achaia, before the arrival of Danaus and Xuthus, were called the Pelasgian Ægialians. They were afterwards named Ionians, from Ion son of Xuthus.

XCV. The islanders<sup>73</sup>, in Grecian arms, were in seventeen vessels. These, once Pelasgian, were ultimately termed Ionian, for the same reason as the twelve Ionian cities founded by the Athenians. The Æolians brought sixty ships, and were armed in the Grecian manner: these also, according to the

<sup>73</sup> *The islanders.*]—These Ionian islanders could not be either those of Chios or of Samos. These assembled at the Panionium, and were a part of the twelve cities, which these islanders were not. Diodorus Siculus adds also the inhabitants of Chios and of Samos to the Ionians, and makes, like Herodotus, a distinction betwixt them and the islanders. But who then were they? Diodorus Siculus informs us. The king, says he, was joined by all those islands betwixt the Cyanae and the promontories of Triopium and Surium. Thus it appears that they were the isles of Ceos, or Cea, as the Latins have it, Naxos, Siphros, Seriphos, Andros, and Tenos, which were Tienian, and founded by the Athenians, as appears from Herodotus, book viii. chap. 46, 48; and from Thucydides, book vii. c. 57, where it should be read Τησιον and not Τηιον.—*Valenar.*



Greeks, were once Pelasgi. The inhabitants of the Hellespont, those of Abydos excepted, in conjunction with the people of Pontus, furnished one hundred vessels: those of Abydos, by the command of the king, remained to defend the bridges. The Hellespontians, being a mixt colony of Ionians and Dorians, were armed like the Greeks.

XCVI. In each of these vessels were detachments of Medes, Persians, and Sacæ. The best mariners were the Phœnicians, and of the people of Phœnicia the Sidonians. The sea and land forces of all these nations were under the immediate command of their own officers. The mention of their particular names, as it is not essential to our purpose, we shall omit. It would indeed prove an uninteresting labour, as every city had its own commander, who without any great distinction or authority merely helped to swell the mass of the army. Those who had the principal conduct of the war I have already enumerated, as well as the Persian officers to whom the command of each nation was assigned.

XCVII. The commanders in chief of the sea forces were, Ariabignes son of Darius, Prexaspes son of Aspathines, and Megabyzus, son of Megabates, together with Achæmenes, another son of Darius: of these, Ariabignes son of Darius, by a daughter of Gobryas, had the conduct of the Ionian and Carian fleets. The Ægyptians were commanded by Achæmenes, brother of Xerxes, both  
on

on the father and mother's side. The two other generals conducted the rest of the fleet to the amount of three thousand vessels, which were composed of vessels of thirty and fifty oars, of *Cercuri*<sup>74</sup>, and of long transports for the cavalry.

XCVIII. After the generals, the more distinguished officers of the fleet were the Sidonian *Tramneftus*, son of *Anyfus*; *Martes* of *Tyre*, son of *Siromus*; *Nerbalus* the *Aradian*, son of *Agbalus*; the *Cilician Syennefis*, son of *Oromedon*; and *Cyberniscus* the son of *Sicas*. To these may be added *Gortes* son of *Cherfis*, and *Timonax* son of *Timagoras*, both of them *Cyprians*, with the three *Carian* leaders, *Hiftizæus* son of *Tymnis*, *Pigres* son of *Seldomus*, and *Damafithymus* son of *Candaules*.

XCIX. The other leaders I forbear to specify, it not appearing necessary; but it is impossible not to speak, and with admiration, of *Artemisia*<sup>75</sup>, who, though

<sup>74</sup> *Cencuri*.]—These, according to *Pliny*, were a particular kind of vessel, invented by the *Cyprians*.

<sup>75</sup> *Artemisia*.]—There were two of this name, both natives, and queens of *Caria*, from which circumstance they have by different writers been frequently confounded. *Pliny*, *Hardouin*, and *Scaliger* have been guilty of this error, and have ascribed to the first what is true only of the last.—See *Bayle*, article *Artemisia*. Nothing can however be more clear and satisfactory, than that the *Artemisia* who accompanied *Xerxes* was the daughter of *Lygdamis*. The *Artemisia* whose mausoleum in honour of her husband's memory has rendered her so illustrious,

though a female, served in this Grecian expedition. On the death of her husband she had the supreme authority, for her son was not yet grown up, and her great spirit and vigour of mind alone induced her to exert herself on this occasion. She was the daughter of Lygdamis, by her father's side of Halicarnassus, by her mother of Cretan descent. She had the conduct of those of Halicarnassus, Cos, Nisyros, and Calydne. She furnished five ships, which, next to those of the Sidonians, were the best in the fleet. She was also distinguished amongst all the allies for the salutary counsels which she gave the king. The people I have recited as subject to Artemisia were I believe all of them Dorians. The Halicarnassians were originally of Træzene, the rest of Epidaurus.—Such were the maritime forces.

was the daughter of Hecatemnes, and lived at a much later period. The daughter of Lygdamis, of whom it is our business to speak, was certainly a great and illustrious character. Her wisdom is very conspicuous, from the excellent advice which she gave Xerxes; and her valour was eminently distinguished, above that of all the men, in the battle of Salamis. See in a subsequent paragraph the speech of Xerxes concerning her, which has been imitated by Justin: "Artemisia queen of Halicarnassus, who joined her forces with Xerxes, appeared amongst the forwardest commanders in the hottest engagements; and as on the man's side there was an effeminate cowardice, on the woman's was observed a masculine courage."

She is honourably mentioned by a variety of writers, but at length fell a victim to the tender passion. She was violently in love with a native of Abydos, named Dardanus; to rid herself of which she took the celebrated lover's leap from the promontory Leucas, and perished.—7.

C. Xerxes having ranged and numbered his armament, was desirous to take a survey of them all. Mounted in his car, he examined each nation in their turn. To all of them he proposed certain questions, the replies to which were noted down by his secretaries. In this manner he proceeded from first to last through all the ranks<sup>76</sup>, both of horse and

<sup>76</sup> *Through all the ranks.* }—The procession of Xerxes in his car through the ranks of his army is well described by Glover in his *Leonidas*, and seems to afford a fine subject for an historical painting.

The monarch will'd, and suddenly he heard  
His trampling horses—High on silver wheels  
The iv'ry car with azure sapphires shone,  
Cærulean beryls, and the jasper green,  
The emerald, the ruby's glowing blush,  
The flaming topaz, with its golden beam,  
The pearl, th' empurpled amethyst, and all  
The various gems which India's mines afford,  
To deck the pomp of kings. In burnish'd gold  
A sculptur'd eagle from behind display'd  
His stately neck, and o'er the royal head  
Outstretch'd his dazzling wings. Eight generous steeds,  
Which on the fam'd Nisæan plain were nurs'd,  
In wintry Media, drew the radiant car.

——At the signal bound

Th' attentive steeds, the chariot flies ; behind  
Ten thousand horse in thunder sweep the field—  
He now draws nigh. Th' innumerable host  
Roll back by nations, and admit their lord  
With all his satraps. As from crystal domes,  
Built underneath an arch of pendent seas,  
When that stern power whose trident rules the floods,  
With each cærulean deity, ascends

and foot. When this was done, the fleet also was pushed off from land, whilst the monarch, exchanging his chariot for a Sidonian vessel, on the deck of which he sat, beneath a golden canopy, passed slowly the heads of the ships, proposing in like manner questions to each, and noting down the answers. The commanders had severally moored their vessels at about four plethra from shore, in one uniform line, with their sterns out to sea, and their crews under arms, as if prepared for battle. Xerxes viewed them, passing betwixt their prows and the shore.

CI. When he had finished his survey, he went on shore; and sending for Demaratus, the son of Ariston, who accompanied him in this expedition against Greece, he thus addressed him: "From  
 " you, Demaratus, who are a Greek, and as I un-  
 " derstand from yourself and others, of no mean or  
 " contemptible city, I am desirous of obtaining in-  
 " formation: do you think that the Greeks will  
 " presume to make any resistance against me? For  
 " my own part, not to mention their want of una-  
 " nimity, I cannot think that all the Greeks, joined  
 " to all the inhabitants of the west, would be able  
 " to withstand my power: what is your opinion on  
 " this subject?" "Sir," said Demaratus, in reply,  
 " shall I say what is true, or only what is agree-

Thron'd in his pearly chariot—all the deep  
 Divides its bosom to th' emerging god,  
 So Xerxes rode between the Asian world,  
 On either side receding.

*Leonidas.*

"able?"

“able?” Xerxes commanded him to speak the truth, assuring him that he would be as agreeable to him as ever.

CII. “Since,” answered Demaratus, “you command me to speak the truth, it shall be my care to deliver myself in such a manner that no one hereafter, speaking as I do, shall be convicted of falsehood. Greece has ever been the child of poverty; for its virtue it is indebted to the severe wisdom and discipline, by which it has tempered its poverty, and repelled its oppressors. To this praise all the Dorian Greeks are entitled;

“Or only what is agreeable.]—This naturally brings to mind the old proverb in the *Andria* of Terence :

*Obsequium amicos veritas odium parit.*

Which expression Cicero, in his *Treatise de Amicitia*, reprobates with proper dignity.

See also the following lines, quoted in *Athenæus*, from *Agatho*:

Εἰ μὲν φράσω τάληθες οὐχ ὅ' εὐφρανῶ

Εἰ δὲ εὐφρανῶ τι σ' οὐχὶ τάληθες φράσω.

That is, in English, If I speak the truth I shall not please you; if I please you I shall not speak the truth.

If, as appears from *Xenophon* in particular, and from various other writers, that to speak the truth constituted an indispensable part of Persian education, these words of Demaratus must have appeared an insult to Xerxes, not to be justified by any affected humility, or any real difference of rank. What *Homer* thought on this subject may be gathered from the two noble lines which he puts into the mouth of *Achilles*:

Who dares think one thing and another tell,

My soul detests him as the gates of hell.

7.

“ but I shall now speak of the Lacedæmonians  
 “ only. You may depend upon it that your propo-  
 “ sitions, which threaten Greece with servitude, will  
 “ be rejected, and if all the other Greeks side with  
 “ you against them, the Lacedæmonians will en-  
 “ gage you in battle. Make no enquiries as to their  
 “ number, for if they shall have but a thousand  
 “ men, or even fewer, they will fight you.”

CIII. “ What, Demaratus,” answered Xerxes, smiling, “ think you that a thousand men will engage so vast a host? Tell me, you who, as you say, have been their prince, would you now willingly engage with ten opponents? If your countrymen be what you describe them, according to your own principles you, who are their prince, should be equal to two of them. If, therefore, one of them be able to contend with ten of my soldiers, you may be reasonably expected to contend with twenty: such ought to be

<sup>78</sup> *Will fight you.*]—In close imitation of the passage before us, the author of *Leonidas* makes Xerxes thus address Demaratus:

Now declare

If yonder Grecians will oppose their march.  
 To him the exile, Deem not, mighty lord,  
 I will deceive thy goodness by a tale,  
 To give them glory who degraded mine;  
 Nor be the king offended while I use  
 The voice of truth—the Spartans never fly.  
 Contemptuous smil'd the monarch, and resum'd,  
 Wilt thou, in Lacedæmon once supreme,  
 Encounter twenty Persians?

“ the test of your assertions. But if your country-  
 “ men really resemble in form and size you, and  
 “ such other Greeks as appear in my presence, it  
 “ should seem that what you say is dictated by  
 “ pride and insolence; for how can it be shewn  
 “ that a thousand, or ten thousand, or even fifty  
 “ thousand men, all equally free, and not subject to  
 “ the will of an individual, could oppose so great  
 “ an army? Granting them to have five thousand  
 “ men, we have still a majority of a thousand to  
 “ one; they who like us are under the command  
 “ of one person, from the fear of their leader, and  
 “ under the immediate impression of the lash, are  
 “ animated with a spirit contrary to their nature,  
 “ and are made to attack a number greater than  
 “ their own; but they who are urged by no  
 “ constraint will not do this. If these Greeks  
 “ were even equal to us in number, I cannot think  
 “ they would dare to encounter Persians. The  
 “ virtue to which you allude is to be found amongst  
 “ ourselves, though the examples are certainly not  
 “ numerous: there are amongst my Persian guards  
 “ men who will singly contend with three Greeks<sup>79</sup>.  
 “ The preposterous language which you use can  
 “ only, therefore, proceed from your ignorance.”

<sup>79</sup> *With three Greeks.*]—This vain boast of Xerxes was in the end punished by Polydamas. Darius, natural son of Artaxerxes, and who by the favour of the Persians succeeded to the throne, had heard of his remarkable exploits; having by promises allured him to Susa, Polydamas challenged three of those whom the Persians call the immortal, encountered them all at once, and slew them.—*Larcher.*



CIV. "I knew, my lord, from the first," returned Demaratus, "that by speaking truth I should offend you. I was induced to give you this representation of the Spartans, from your urging me to speak without reserve. You may judge, sir, what my attachment must be to those who, not content with depriving me of my paternal dignities, drove me ignominiously into exile. Your father received, protected, and supported me<sup>80</sup>: no prudent man will treat with ingratitude the kindness of his benefactor. I will never presume to engage in fight with ten men, nor even with two, nor indeed willingly with one; but if necessity demanded, or danger provoked me, I would not hesitate to fight with any one of those who they say is a match for three Greeks. The Lacedæmonians, when they engage in single combat, are certainly not inferior to other men, but in a body they are not to be equalled. Although free, they are not so without some reserve; the law is their superior<sup>81</sup>,

" of

<sup>80</sup> *Protected and supported me.*]—That prince gave him the towns of Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia, which Eurysthenes and Procles, descendants of Demaratus, enjoyed in the 95th Olympiad, who joined themselves to Thimbron the Lacedæmonian general, when he passed into Asia Minor to make war on Persia.—*Larcher.*

<sup>81</sup> *The law is their superior.*]—Thomson, in his Poem to Liberty, gives this just and animated description of Sparta:

Spread on Eurota's bank  
Amid a circle of soft-rising hills,  
The patient Sparta stood, the sober, hard,  
And man-subduing city, which no shape

“ of which they stand in greater awe than your  
 “ subjects do of you : they are obedient to what it  
 “ commands<sup>82</sup>, and it commands them always  
 “ not to fly from the field of battle, whatever may  
 “ be the number of their adversaries. It is their

Of pain could conquer, nor of pleasure charm.  
 Lycurgus there built, on the solid base  
 Of equal life, so well a temper'd state,  
 Where mix'd each government in each just poise,  
 Each power so checking and supporting each,  
 That firm for ages and unmov'd it stood,  
 The sort of Greece, without one giddy hour,  
 One shock of faction, or of party rage :  
 For, drain'd the springs of wealth, corruption there  
 Lay wither'd at the root. Thrice happy land,  
 Had not neglected art with weedy vice  
 Confounded sunk : but if Athenian arts  
 Lov'd not the soil, yet then the calm abode  
 Of wisdom, virtue, philosophic ease,  
 Of manly sense, and wit in frugal phrase,  
 Contin'd and press'd into laconic force ;  
 There too, by rooting thence still treach'rous self,  
 The public and the private grew the same ;  
 The children of the nursing public all,  
 And at its table fed : for that they toil'd,  
 For that they liv'd entire, and ev'n for that  
 The tender mother urg'd her son to die.

*Liberty*, part ii. 108, &c.

Dr. Johnson says truly of this poem, that none of Thomson's works have been so little regarded ; I may, nevertheless, venture to promise whoever has not perused it, that it will very well pay his attention.—*T.*

<sup>82</sup> *What it commands* ]—“ With the Lacedæmonians,” says Plato, “ the law is the king and master ; and men are not the tyrants of the laws.” “ The Deity,” says he, in another place, “ is the law of wise and moderate men ; pleasure that of men who are foolish and intemperate.”—*Larcher.*

“ duty

“ duty to preserve their ranks, to conquer, or to  
 “ die<sup>33</sup>. If what I say seem to you absurd, I am  
 “ willing in future to be silent. I have spoken  
 “ what I think, because the king commanded ~~me~~,  
 “ to whom may all he desires be accomplish-  
 “ ed.”

CV. Xerxes smiled at these words of Demaratus, whom he dismissed without any anger civilly from his presence. After the above conference he removed from Doriscus the governor who had been placed there by Darius, and promoted in his room Mascamis, son of Megadostis. He then passed through Thrace with his army, towards Greece.

CVI. To this Mascamis, as to the bravest of all the governors appointed either by himself or by Darius, Xerxes sent presents every year, and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, continued to do the same to his descendants. Before this expedition against Greece there had constantly been governors both in Thrace and the Helleispont, all of whom, except Mascamis, the Greeks afterwards expelled: he alone retained Doriscus in his subjection, in defiance

<sup>33</sup> *Conquer or to die.*]—

O conceive not, prince,  
 That Spartans want an object where to fix  
 Their eyes in reverence, in obedient dread.  
 To them more awful than the name of king  
 To Asia's trembling millions, is the law,  
 Whose sacred voice enjoins them to confront  
 Unnumber'd foes, to vanquish or to die.—*Leonidas.*

of

of the many and repeated exertions made to remove him. It was in remembrance of these services, that he and all his descendants received presents from the kings of Persia.

CVII. The only one of all those expelled by the Greeks, who enjoyed the good opinion of Xerxes, was Boges<sup>84</sup>, the governor of Eëon; this man he always mentioned in terms of esteem, and all his descendants were honourably regarded in Persia. Boges was not undeserving his great reputation: when he was besieged by the Athenians, under the conduct of Cimon, son of Miltiades, he might, if he had thought proper, have retired into Asia; this he refused, and defended himself to the last extremity, from apprehensions that the king might ascribe his conduct to fear. When no provisions were left, he caused a large pile to be raised; he then slew his children, his wife, his concubines, and all his family, and threw them into the fire; he next cast all the gold and silver of the place from the walls into the Strymon; lastly, he leaped himself into the flames. This man is, therefore, very deservedly extolled by the Persians.

CVIII. Xerxes, in his progress from Doriscus to Greece, compelled all the people amongst whom he

<sup>84</sup> *Boges.*]—This proper name is by Pausanias written Boes. The expedition of Cimon is mentioned by Thucydides, Æschines, and others.—This Cimon was the grand-son of the Cimon spoken of in Livy, book vi. chap. 34. 39.

came to join his army. All this tract of country, as far as Theffaly, as I have before remarked, had been made tributary to the king, first by Megabyzus, and conclusively by Mardonius. Leaving Doriscus, he first passed beyond the Samothracian forts, the last of which, towards the west, is called Mesambria; contiguous to this is Stryme, a Thasian town. The river Lissus waters both these towns, the streams of which, on the present occasion, were insufficient for the army. This district was once called Galaice, now Briantica, and properly belonged to the Ciconians.

CIX. Xerxes having passed the exhausted bed of the Lissus, continued his march beyond the Grecian cities of Maronea, Dicæa, and Abdera<sup>85</sup>; he passed also the following lakes in the vicinity of these towns: the Ismaris, betwixt Maronea and Stryma, the Bistonis in the neighbourhood of Di-

<sup>85</sup> *Abdera.*]—See note to chapter 168 of book the first; I there observed that Abdera produced many illustrious characters, yet it is thus stigmatized by Juvenal in his tenth Satire. Speaking of Democritus, he says,

——— *cujus prudentia monstrat*  
*Summos posse viros et magna exempla datorios*  
*Vervæcum in patria, crassoque sub aere nasci.*

Which lines are thus translated by Dryden, rather too diffusely :

Learn from so great a wit, a land of bogs  
 With ditches fenc'd, a heav'n fat with fogs,  
 May form a spirit fit to sway the state,  
 And make the neighb'ring monarchs fear their fate.—T.

| Cæa,

cæa, which is filled by the two streams of the Traus and Compfatus. Near Abdera is no lake of importance; but the king passed near the Nestus, which empties itself into the ocean. He proceeded onwards through the more midland cities, in one of which is a lake almost of thirty stadia in circumference, full of fish, but remarkably salt: the waters of this proved only sufficient for the beasts of burthen. The name of the city is Pistirus. These Grecian and maritime cities were to the left of Xerxes as he passed them.

CX. The nations of Thrace through which he marched are these: the Pæti, Ciconians, Bistones, Sapæi, Derfæi, Edonians, and the Satræ. The inhabitants of the maritime towns followed by sea; those inland, which I have already specified, were, except the Satræ, compelled to accompany<sup>86</sup> the army by land.

CXI. The Satræ, as far as I know, never were subdued; they alone, of all the Thracians, have continued to my memory an independent nation. They are remarkable for their valour. They inhabit lofty mountains covered with snow, but abounding in all kinds of trees: upon the summit of one of their highest hills they have an oracle of Bac-

<sup>86</sup> *Compelled to accompany.*]—Thus we find were these nations compelled to serve under Cyrus, who were betwixt him and Cræsus, not as associates, but as prisoners of war. Many of them were reduced from being horsemen to serve on foot, and in a way, says Xenophon, which Cyrus accounted as in the highest degree servile, as slingers.—T.

chus. The interpreters of these divine oracles are the Bessi<sup>87</sup>: a priestess makes the responses, as at Delphi, and with the same ambiguity.

CXII. Xerxes continued to advance, and passed by two Pierian cities, one called Phagra, the other Pergamos; to his right he left the mountain Pangæus, which is of great extent and height, and has mines both of gold and silver; these are worked by the Pierians and Odomanti, and particularly by the Satræ.

CXIII. Beyond Pangæus, to the north, are the Præonians, the Doberes, and the Pæoples. Xerxes passed all these, keeping a westward direction, till he came to the river Strymon, and the city of Nion: Boges, the governor of this last place, whom we have before mentioned, was then living. The country round Pangæus is called Phillis, it extends to the west as far as the Angitis, which empties itself into the Strymon; to the south it continues till it meets the Strymon. To this river the magi offered a sacrifice of white horses<sup>88</sup>.

CXIV.

<sup>87</sup> *Bessi.*]—Ovid makes mention of these Bessi in no very flattering terms:

Vivere quam miseram est inter Bessiosque Getasque. — *V.*

<sup>88</sup> *Sacrifice of white horses.*]—The particular manner in which they performed these sacrifices, Strabo thus describes:

When the Persians come to a lake, a river, or a fountain, they sink a pit, and kill the victim, taking particular care that the

pure

CXIV. After performing these and many other religious rites to the Strymon, they proceeded through the Edonian district of the Nine Ways, to where they found bridges thrown over the Strymon: when they heard that this place was named the Nine Ways, they buried there alive nine youths, and as many virgins, natives of the country. This custom of burying alive is common in Persia; and I have been informed that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, when she was of an advanced age, commanded fourteen Persian children of illustrious birth to be interred alive in honour of that deity whom they suppose to exist under the earth.

CXV. Marching still forwards, they left on the

pure water in the vicinity is not stained with blood, which would contaminate it. They then place the flesh of the victim upon branches of myrtle or laurel, and burn it with small sticks: during this they chaunt hymns, and offer libations of oil mixed with milk and honey, which they pour not into the fire, but upon the ground. Their hymns are very long, and whilst they are singing them they hold in their hands a bundle of short pieces of briar.

To which may be added the following particulars.

When the Persians sacrificed they wore garlands, which we learn from the first book of Herodotus, and the third book of the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon. They sometimes burnt all, and sometimes only part of the victim, feasting on the remainder. In the 16th chapter of *Leviticus*, the English reader may find a general similitude to the Persian mode of sacrifice, and indeed to that of all the Oriental nations. See also on this subject the second Dissertation of Hutchinson, prefixed to his *Cyropædia*.



shore, to the west, a Grecian city called Argilus; this, as well as the country beyond it, is called Bistaltia: leaving then to the left the gulph, which is near the temple of Neptune, they crossed the plain called Sileum, and passing the Greek city of Stagirus, came to Acanthus. The people of all these places, of mount Pangæus, together with those whom we have enumerated, they carried along with them: they who dwelt on the coast went by sea; they who lived distant from the sea went by land. The line of country through which Xerxes led his army is to the present day held in such extreme veneration by the Thracians, that they never disturb or cultivate it.

CXVI. On his arrival at Acanthos, the Persian monarch interchanged the rites of hospitality with the people, and presented each with a Median vest<sup>89</sup>: he was prompted to this conduct by the particular zeal which they discovered towards the war, and from their having completed the work of the canal.

CXVII. Whilst Xerxes still continued at Acanthos, Artachæes, who had superintended the works of the canals, died; he was of the race of the Achæmenidæ, in great favour with the king, and

<sup>89</sup> *Median vest.*]—This was invented by Semiramis, the wife of Ninus; it was so very graceful, that the Medes adopted it, after they had conquered Asix; the Persians followed their example.—*Larcher.*

the tallest of all the Persians; he wanted but four fingers of five royal cubits<sup>90</sup>, and was also remarkable for his great strength of voice. The king was much afflicted at his loss, and buried him with great magnificence, the whole army being employed in erecting a monument to his memory. The Acanthians, in compliance with an oracle, invoke him by name, and pay him the honours of a hero. Xerxes always considered the death of Artachæus as a great calamity.

CXVIII. Those Greeks who entertained the Persian army, and provided a banquet for the king, were reduced to extreme misery, and compelled to abandon their country. On account of their cities, distributed along the continent, the Thasians also feasted Xerxes and his forces: Antipater, the son of Orgis, a man of great reputation, was selected by his countrymen to preside on the occasion; by his account it appeared, that four hundred talents of silver were expended for this purpose.

CXIX. No less expence devolved upon the other cities, as appeared by the accounts delivered in by the different magistrates. As a long previous notice was given, preparations were made with suitable industry and magnificence. As soon as the royal will was made known by the heralds, the in-

<sup>90</sup> *Five royal cubits.*]—Supposing our author to mean here the Babylonian measure, this, according to the computation of d'Anville, would be seven feet eight inches high.—*Larcher.*

habitants of the several cities divided the corn which they possessed, and employed many months in reducing it to meal and flower. Some there were, who purchased at a great price the finest cattle they could procure, for the purpose of fattening them : others, with the same view of entertaining the army, provided birds both of the land and the water, which they preserved in cages and in ponds. Many employed themselves in making cups and goblets of gold and silver, with the other utensils of the table ; these last-mentioned articles were intended only for the king himself, and his more immediate attendants ; with respect to the army in general, it was thought sufficient to furnish them with provision. On the approach of the main body, a pavilion was erected, and properly prepared for the residence of the monarch, the rest of the troops remained in the open air. From the commencement of the feast to its conclusion, the fatigue of those who provided it is hardly to be expressed. The guests, after satisfying their appetite, passed the night on the place ; the next morning, after tearing up the pavilion, and plundering its contents, they departed, without leaving any thing behind them,

CXX. Upon this occasion the witty remark of Megacreon of Abdera has been handed down to posterity. He advised the Abderites of both sexes to go in procession to their temples, and there, in the attitude of supplicants, entreat the gods to continue in future to avert from them the half of their calamities.

calamities. With respect to the past, he thought their gratitude was due to heaven, because Xerxes did not take two repasts in a day. If the Abderites, he observed, had been required to furnish a dinner as well as a supper, they must either have prevented by flight the visit of the king, or have been the most miserable of human beings.

CXXI. These people, severe as was the burden, fulfilled what had been enjoined them. From Acanthus, Xerxes dismissed the commanders of his fleet, requiring them to wait his orders at Therma. Therma is situated near the Thermean gulph, to which it gives its name. He had been taught to suppose this the most convenient road; by the command of Xerxes, the army had marched from Doriscus to Acanthus in three separate bodies: one went by the sea-coast, moving with the fleet, and was commanded by Mardonius and Masistes; a second proceeded through the midst of the continent, under the conduct of Tritantæchmes and Gergis; betwixt these went the third detachment, with whom was Xerxes himself, and who were led by Smerdomenes and Megabyzus.

CXXII. As soon as the royal mandate was issued, the navy entered the canal which had been sunk at mount Athos, and which was continued to the gulph, contiguous to which are the cities of Assa, Pidorus, Singus, and Sarga. Taking on board a supply of troops from these places, the fleet advanced towards the Thermean gulph, and doubling

the Toronean promontory of Ampelos, passed by the following Grecian towns, from which also they took reinforcements of vessels and of men—Torona, Galepsus, Sermyla, Mccyberna, and Olynthus. All the above district is now named Sithonia.

CXXIII. From the promontory of Ampelos, they proceeded by a short cut to the Camastrean cape, the point, which of all the district of Pallene, projects farthest into the sea; here they took with them other supplies of men and ships, from Potidaea, Aphytus, Neapolis, Ælga, Therambus, Scione, Menda, and Sana. These cities are situated in the region now called Pallene, known formerly by the name of Phlegra. Coasting onwards to the station appointed, they supplied themselves with troops from the cities in the vicinity of Pallene, and the Thermæan gulph. The names of these, situate in what is now called the Cnossæan region, are Lipaxus, Combrea, Lissæ, Gigonus, Campsa, Smila and Ænea. From this last place, beyond which I shall forbear to specify the names of cities, the fleet went in a straight direction to the Thermæan gulph, and the coast of Mygdonia: it ultimately arrived at Therma, the place appointed, as also at Sindus and Chalestra, on the river Axios, which separates Mygdonia from Bottiaïs. In a narrow neck of this region, leading to the sea, are found the cities of Ichnæ and Pella.

CXXIV. The naval forces stationed themselves  
near.

near the river Axium, the town of Therma, and the other neighbouring cities, where they waited for the king. Directing his march this way, Xerxes, with all his forces, left Acanthus, and proceeded over the continent through Pæonia and Crestonia, near the river Chidorus, which, taking its rise in Crestonia, flows through Mygdonia, and empties itself into a marsh which is above the river Axium.

CXXV. In the course of this march the camels, which carried the provisions, were attacked by lions: in the darkness of the night they left their accustomed abode, and without molesting man or beast, fell upon the camels only<sup>91</sup>. That the lions should

<sup>91</sup> *The camels only.*]—"Herodotus," says Bellanger, in a note upon this passage, "was no great naturalist. The Arabians, and all those who inhabit the countries where are lions and camels, very well know that the lion loves the flesh of the camel."—See *Ælian, History of Animals*, book xvii. chap. 36.

Herodotus, it must be confessed, was not remarkably well versed in natural history; but if he had, it must always have appeared surprising to him, that lions, who had never before seen camels, or tasted their flesh, should attack them in preference to other beasts of burthen. That in Arabia lions should prefer a camel to a horse, may seem natural enough; they know by experience the flesh of these two animals, and that of the camel is doubtless more to their taste: but what could have given them this knowledge in Macedonia? I confess that this would have appeared no less marvellous to me than to Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

With respect to the lion, many preposterous errors anciently prevailed, which modern improvements and researches in natural history, have corrected and improved; nevertheless the fact here recorded by Herodotus must ever appear marvellous. It seems in the first place, that the region of Europe in which he has fixed these lions is too cold for producing those animals, and

should attack the camels alone, animals ~~they~~ had never before devoured, or even seen, is a fact which I relate with surprise, and am totally unable to explain.

CXXVI. These places abound with lions and wild bulls, the large horns of which are carried to Greece. On the one side the Nestus, which flows through Abdera, and on the other the Achelous, passing through Acarnania, are the limits beyond which no lions are found<sup>92</sup>. In the intermediate region betwixt these two places lions are produced; but no one has ever seen them in Europe,

and according to every testimony it was then colder than at

It is now well known that the lion, however urged by hunger, does not attack its prey boldly and in an open manner, but insidiously: as the camels therefore were certainly on this occasion accompanied by a multitude, it is not easy to conceive how they could well be exposed to the attacks of the lions. In the next place it is not likely that the lions should be allured to the camels by their smell, for it is now very well ascertained that the lion has by no means an acute sense of smelling. With respect to the taste of the lion, it is said that having once tasted human blood it prefers it to all other food. Of the tiger, which is only a different species of the same genus with the lion, both being felæ, it is said, but I know not from what accuracy of experiment or observation, that it prefers the flesh of an African to that of an European, the European to the American; but the assertion may be reasonably disputed.—T.

<sup>92</sup> *Lions are found.*]—Lions are not at all found in America, and fewer in Asia than in Africa. The natural history of the lion may be pursued in Buffon with much information and entertainment: but more real knowledge concerning this noble animal may perhaps be obtained from Sparrman's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, than from any other writer on this subject.—T.

beyond

beyond the Nestus to the East, or beyond the Achelous to the west.

CXXVII. On his arrival at Therma, Xerxes halted with his army, which occupied the whole of the coast from Therma and Mygdonia, as far as the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which forming the limits of Bottiæis and Macedonia, meet at last in the same channel. Here the Barbarians encamped: of all the rivers I have enumerated, the Chidorus, which flows from Crestonia, was the only one which did not afford sufficient water for the troops.

CXXVIII. Xerxes, viewing from Therma, Olympus and Ossa, Thessalian mountains of an extraordinary height, betwixt which was a narrow passage where the Peneus poured its stream, and where was an entrance to Thessaly, he was desirous of sailing to the mouth of this river. For the way he had determined to march as the safest was through the high country of Macedonia, by the Perræbi, and the town of Gonnus. He instantly however set about the accomplishment of his wish. He accordingly went on board a Sidonian vessel, for on such occasions he always preferred the ships of that country; leaving here his land forces, he gave the signal for all the fleet to prepare to set sail. Arriving at the mouth of the Peneus, he observed it with particular admiration, and desired to know of his guides if it would not be possible to  
turn



turn the stream, and make it empty itself ~~into~~ the sea in some other place.

**CXXIX.** Thessaly is said to have been formerly a marsh, on all sides surrounded by lofty mountains; to the east by Pelion and Ossa, whose bases meet each other; to the north by Olympus, to the west by Pindus; to the south by Othrys. The space betwixt these is Thessaly, into which depressed region many rivers pour their waters, but more particularly these five, the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus: all these, flowing from the mountains which surround Thessaly into the plain, are till then distinguished by specific names. They afterwards unite in one narrow channel, and are poured into the sea. After their union they take the name of the Peneus only. It is said, that formerly, before this aperture to the sea existed, all these rivers, and also the lake Bæbeis, had not as now any specific name, but that their body of water was as large as at present, and the whole of Thessaly a sea. The Thessalians affirm, and not improbably, that the valley through which the Peneus flows was formed by Neptune. Whoever supposes that Neptune causes earthquakes, and that the consequent chasms are the work of that deity, may on viewing this spot easily ascribe it to his power: to me, the separation of these mountains appears to have been the effect of an earthquake<sup>91</sup>.

**CXXX.**

<sup>91</sup> *An earthquake.*]—The reader may see in Phisostrotus, the description.

• CXXX. Xerxes enquiring of his guides whether the Peneus might be conducted to the sea by any other channel, received from them, who were well acquainted with the situation of the country, this reply: "As Theffaly, O king, is on every side encircled by mountains, the Peneus can have no other communication with the sea." "The Theffalians," Xerxes is said to have answered, "are a sagacious people. They have been careful to decline a contest for many reasons, and particularly as they must have discerned that their country would afford an easy conquest to an invader. All that would be necessary to deluge the whole of Theffaly, except the

description of a picture in which Neptune is represented as in the act of separating the mountains.—See also Strabo. The tradition that Ossa and Olympus were anciently different parts of the same mountain, existed from a very remote period in Greece; and according to Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, is not now obliterated. The valley through which the Peneus flows is the celebrated vale of Tempe, the fruitful theme of so many poetical effusions in ancient periods, as well as at the present. The river Peneus is no where better described than in the following lines of Ovid:

Est nemus Hæmonia prærupta quod undique claudit  
 Silva, vocant Tempe per quæ Peneus ab imo  
 Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis  
 Dejectuque gravis tenues agitantia fumos  
 Nubila conducit, summasque aspergine fylvas  
 Impluit et sonitu plusquam vicina fatigat.

*Metamorph. i. 568.*

Very few readers will require to be told that Ovid made the banks of the Peneus the scene of his fable of Daphne and Apollo.—7.

“ mountainous

“ mountainous parts, would be to stop up the  
 “ mouth of the river, and thus throw back its  
 “ waters upon the country.” This observation  
 referred to the sons of Aleuas, who were Thes-  
 salians, and the first Greeks who submitted to the  
 king. He presumed that their conduct declared  
 the general sentiments of the nation in his favour.  
 After surveying the place he returned to Therma.

CXXXI. He remained a few days in the neigh-  
 bourhood of Pieria, during which interval a de-  
 tachment of the third of his army was employed  
 in clearing the Macedonian mountain, to facilitate  
 the passage of the troops into the country of the  
 Peræbi. At the same time the messengers who had  
 been sent to require earth and water of the Greeks  
 returned, some with and some without it.

CXXXII. Amongst those who sent it, were the  
 Thessalians, the Dolopians, the Enians, the Peræbi,  
 the Locri, the Magnetes, the Melians, the Achæans  
 of Pthiotis, the Thebans, and the rest of the people  
 of Bœotia, except the Thespians and Platæans.  
 Against all these those Greeks who determined to  
 resist the Barbarians entered into a solemn vow<sup>94</sup>  
 to the following effect—that whatever Greeks sub-  
 mitted to the Persian, without the plea of unavoid-

<sup>94</sup> *Solemn vow.*]—The Greek is *εραπον ορκισιν*, literally, *they*  
*eat an oath*, because no alliance or agreement was ever made  
 without sacrificing a victim. Similar to this, and to be explained  
 in like manner, was the *ferire foedus* of the Romans.

able necessity, should on any favourable change of their affairs forfeit to the divinity of Delphi a tenth part of their property.

CXXXIII. Xerxes sent no messengers either to Athens or to Sparta, for when Darius had before sent to these places, the Athenians threw his people into their pit of punishment<sup>95</sup>, the Lacedæmonians into wells, telling them to get the earth and water thence, and carry it to their king. The city and country of the Athenians was afterwards laid waste; but that they suffered thus in consequence of their treatment of the ambassadors, is more than I will assert, indeed I can no means ascribe it to that cause.

CXXXIV. But the vengeance of Talthybius<sup>96</sup>, who had been the herald of Agamemnon, fell upon  
the

<sup>95</sup> *Pit of punishment.*]—Learned men have disputed whether the το βαράβρον was the place of punishment at Athens or at Sparta. See the *Essais de Critique* of Bellanger, page 63, and the note of Larcher on this passage. It was a deep pit, into which criminals were precipitated. See, in the *Stratagemata of Polyænus*, an entertaining account of the ingenious and successful contrivance of one Aristomenes to escape from this horrid place. *Polyæn.* book ii. c. 2. Similar to this was the punishment of precipitation from the Tarpeian rock, inflicted on state criminals amongst the Romans. Perhaps it is not unreasonable to presume that a like kind of punishment prevailed amongst the Jews, who, we are told in the gospels, hurried our Saviour to the brow of the hill on which the city was built, intending to throw him headlong down.—T.

<sup>96</sup> *Vengeance of Talthybius.*]—The indignation of Talthy-

the Lacedæmonians. There is at Sparta a temple of Talthybius; his posterity are called Talthybiadæ, and are employed, as a mark of honour, on all foreign embassies. A long time after the incident we have related the entrails of the victims continued at Sparta to bear an unfavourable appearance, till the people, reduced to despondency, called a general assembly, in which they enquired by their heralds, if any Lacædemonian would die for his country<sup>97</sup>.

Upon

bis fell generally upon the republic of Lacedæmon, but at Athens upon a particular house, namely on the family of Miltiades, son of Cimon, because he had advised the Athenians to put to death the heralds who came to Attica.—*Pausanias*, book iii. chapter 12.

I can no where find on what account these honours were paid to Talthybius and his posterity. The persons of heralds the laws of all nations consented to hold sacred, but this veneration was paid not to the individual, but to the office. The name of Talthybius occurs very seldom in Homer, and is never introduced with any peculiar marks of honour or distinction.—*T.*

<sup>97</sup> *Die for his country.*]—A superstitious idea prevailed amongst the ancients, that the safety of a whole nation might be secured, or the life of an individual be preserved, by the voluntary devotion of one or more persons to death. Thus, amongst the Greeks, in the instance before us, and in the example of Leonidas, who devoted himself at Thermopylæ. The Romans were distinguished by the same absurd error: the chasm of the forum was supposed to close because a Roman knight voluntarily leaped into it; and a splendid victory over their adversaries was believed to be the consequence of the self-devotion of Decius. In succeeding times it became customary for individuals to devote and consecrate themselves, their fortunes, and their lives, to the service of the emperors. The folly began with Augustus, to whom one Pacuvius thus devoted himself.

Upon this Sperthies<sup>98</sup>, son of Aneristus, and Bulis son of Nicolaus, Spartans of great accomplishments and distinction, offered themselves to undergo whatever punishment Xerxes the son of Darius should think proper to inflict on account of the murder of his ambassadors. These men therefore the Spartans sent to the Medes, as to certain death.

himself. That better devotion, the result not of superstition but of genuine patriotism, is thus well described by Thomson:

But ah, too little known to modern times,  
Be not the noblest passion past unsung,  
That ray peculiar, from unbounded love  
Effus'd, which kindles the heroic soul—  
Devotion to the public. Glorious flame,  
Celestial ardour, in what unknown worlds,  
Profusely scatter'd thro' the blue immerse,  
Hast thou been blessing myriads, since in Rome,  
Old virtuous Rome, so many deathless names  
From thee their lustre drew? Since, taught by thee,  
Their poverty put splendour to the blush,  
Pain grew luxurious, and death delight? T.

<sup>98</sup> *Sperthies*.]—The name of this Spartan is very variously written: he is called Spertis, Sperchis, and Sperches, but it is of no great importance. Suidas, by an unpardonable negligence, changes these two Spartans into two Athenians. They sung, in honour of these two exalted characters, a melancholy dirge called Sperchis, though I doubt not that Bulis was also celebrated in it, as was Aristogiton in that of Harmodius.—See *Theocritus*, *Idyl.* xv. 96, 98.—*Larcher*.

The above mistake in Suidas, which Larcher has pointed out, Toup, in his Emendations of that author, has omitted to notice.—T.

CXXXV. The magnanimity of these two men, as well as the words which they used, deserve admiration. On their way to Susa they came to Hydarnes, a native of Persia, and governor of the vanquished places in Asia near the sea: he entertained them with much liberality and kindness, and addressed them as follows: "Why, O Lacedæmonians, will you reject the friendship of the king? From me, and from my condition, you may learn how well he knows to reward merit. He already thinks highly of your virtue, and if you will but enter into his service, he will doubtless assign to each of you some government in Greece." Hydarnes," they replied, "your advice with respect to us is inconsistent: you speak from the experience of your own, but with an entire ignorance of our situation. To you servitude is familiar; but how sweet a thing liberty is, you have never known, if you had, you yourself would have advised us to make all possible exertions to preserve it<sup>99</sup>."

CXXXVI. When introduced, on their arrival at Susa, to the royal presence, they were first ordered

<sup>99</sup> *To preserve it.*]—The Greek is *ἐν αὐτοῖς δοῦναι συμβουλευτικὴν ἡμῶν περὶ αὐτῆς μαχεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ πελκεσι*, which literally means, You would advise us to fight for it not only with spears, but with hatchets: which in a manner explains itself; for to fight with a spear implies fighting at a greater distance, and consequently with less danger, than was possible with an ax, the wounds of which must be more severe, and less easily avoided.—T.

by the guards to fall prostrate, and adore the king<sup>100</sup>, and some force was used to compel them. But this they refused to do, even if they should dash their heads against the ground. They were not, they said, accustomed to adore a man, nor was it for this purpose that they came. After persevering in such conduct, they addressed Xerxes himself in these and similar expressions: "King of the Medes, we are sent by our countrymen to make atonement for those ambassadors who perished at Sparta." Xerxes with great magnanimity said he would not imitate the example of the Lacedæmonians. They in killing his ambassadors had violated the laws of nations; he would not be guilty of that with which he reproached them, nor, by destroying their messengers, indirectly justify their crime.

CXXXVII. In consequence of this conduct of the Spartans, the indignation of Talthybius subsided for the present, notwithstanding the return of Sperthies and Bulis to their country. But according

<sup>100</sup> *Adore the king.*]—This was the compliment always paid to the kings of Persia, when admitted to their presence; but this the Greeks, with the exception of Themistocles and one or two more, uniformly refused to do. We learn from Valerius Maximus, that one Timagoras, an Athenian, having done this, was by his countrymen condemned to die: thinking the dignity of their city injured and degraded by this act of meanness.

Prideaux remarks, that this compliment of prostration before him must have been paid the king of Persia by the prophets Ezra and Nehemiah, or they could not have had access to him.

—T.



to the Lacedæmonian account, this displeasure was after a long interval again conspicuous in the war betwixt the people of the Peloponnese and the Athenians. For my own part, I see no divine interposition<sup>101</sup> in this business: that the anger of Talthybius should without ceasing continue to operate till the devoted individuals were sent from their country, seems just and reasonable; but that it should ultimately fall on the children of these men, does not to me look like divine vengeance. Nicolaus the son of Bulis, and Aneristus the son of Sperthies, had taken a fishing vessel belonging to the Tirinthians<sup>102</sup> full of men: being afterwards sent

<sup>101</sup> *Divine interposition.*]—To impute that to divine interposition which human sagacity is unable to account for or explain, seems the necessary result of ignorance combined with superstition. That in a case so remarkable as this before us, Herodotus should disdain to do this, does the highest credit to his candour and his wisdom. The passage however has greatly perplexed the most learned commentators, some thinking that the negative particle ought to be rejected, others the contrary. I would refer the curious reader to Valcnaer's note on the passage, which to me seems very satisfactory, and which I have of course adopted.—*T.*

<sup>102</sup> *To the Tirinthians.*]—Thucydides relates the particulars of this affair, book ii. chapter 67. From his account no divine interposition seems necessary to explain what happened to Nicolaus and Aneristus: they were two of several who fell into the hands of the Athenians, who were then at variance with Sparta. In the beginning of the war, the Lacedæmonians had put to death such as they captured by sea, and the Athenians thought themselves at liberty to retaliate. Thucydides says, that Aristas, one of the captives, was in a particular manner odious to the Athenians, as they imputed to him many calamities they had recently experienced; but he says no such thing either of Nicolaus or Aneristus.—*T.*

on some public business into Asia by the Lacedæmonians, they were betrayed by Sitalces, son of Tereus, king of Thrace, and by Nymphodorus son of Pythus, a man of Abdera. They were accordingly captured near Bisanthis on the Hellespont, and being carried to Attica were put to death by the Athenians, as was also Aristeus son of Adimantus, a Corinthian.—These events happened many years after the expedition of Xerxes <sup>103</sup>.

CXXXVIII. This expedition, to return to my proper subject, was nominally said to be directed against Athens; but its real object was the entire conquest of Greece. The Greeks were long prepared for this invasion, but they did not all think of it alike. They who had made their submission to the Persian did not conceive they had any thing to apprehend from the Barbarian's presence, whilst they who had resisted his proposals were overwhelmed with terror and alarm. The united naval armament of Greece was far from able to contend with his power; and a great number of them discovered more inclination to go over to the Medes, than to concur in the general defence.

CXXXIX. I feel myself impelled in this place to deliver an opinion, which, though it may appear invidious to most men, as it seems to me the fact, I shall not suppress. If the Athenians, through terror

<sup>103</sup> *After the expedition of Xerxes.*]—The events here alluded to happened in the third year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, as appears from Thucydides.

of the impending danger, had forsaken their country, or if they had stayed merely to have surrendered themselves to Xerxes, he would certainly have met with no resistance by sea; if he had remained without contest master of the sea, the following must have been the event of things on the continent:—Although they of the Peloponnese had fortified the isthmus by a number of walls, the Lacedæmonians must inevitably have been deserted by their allies, not so much from inclination as from their being compelled to see their cities regularly taken and pillaged by the Barbarian fleet. Thus left alone, after many efforts of valour, they would have encountered an honourable death. Either this must have been their lot, or, seeing the other Greeks forming alliances with the Medes, they themselves would have done the same: thus would Greece either way have been reduced under the Persian yoke. Of what advantage the walls along the isthmus could possibly have been, whilst the king remained master of the sea, I am unable to discover. Whoever therefore shall consider the Athenians as the deliverers of Greece, will not be far from the truth. The scale to which they inclined would necessarily preponderate. In their anxiety for preserving the liberties of their country, they animated the ardour of all that part of Greece which was before inclined to resist the Medes. They, next to the gods, repelled the invader; nor did the Delphic oracles, alarming and terrific as they were, induce them to abandon Greece; but they waited to receive the invader.

CXL. The Athenians, desirous to know the will of the oracle, sent messengers to Delphi; who, after the customary ceremonies entering the temple, were thus addressed in a prophetic spirit by the priests, whose name was Aristonice:

“ Unhappy men, to earth’s last limits go ;  
 “ Forake your homes, and city’s lofty brow,  
 “ For neither head nor bodies firm remain,  
 “ Nor hands assist you, nor can feet sustain :  
 “ All, all is lost, the fires spread wide around,  
 “ Mars in his Syrian car and arms is found ;  
 “ Not ye alone his furious wrath may fear ;  
 “ Their towers from many shall his vengeance tear.  
 “ And now from hallow’d shrines the flames ascend,  
 “ Black blood and sweat their fearful torrents blend.  
 “ Horror prevails! Ye victims of despair,  
 “ Depart, and for unheard-of ills prepare !”

CXLI. This reply filled the Athenian messengers with the deepest affliction: whilst they were reflecting on its melancholy import, Timon, son of Androbulis, one of the most illustrious citizens of Delphi, recommended them to assume the dress of supplicants, and a second time to consult the oracle. They followed his advice, and expressed their sentiments to the oracle in these terms: “ O  
 “ king, return us an answer more auspicious to our  
 “ country; let our supplicatory dress and attitude  
 “ incline you to compassion; otherwise we will not  
 “ leave your sanctuary, but here remain till we

“ die.” The second answer <sup>104</sup> of the priests was to this effect.

- “ Of Jove, who rules Olympian heights above,  
 “ Not Pallas’ self the solemn will can move.  
 “ My awful words attend then once again,  
 “ And firm they shall as adamant remain.  
 “ When all is lost within Cecropian bounds,  
 “ And where Cithæron’s sacred bosom sounds,  
 “ Jove to his lov’d Tritonian maid shall give  
 “ A wall of wood, where you and yours shall live.  
 “ Your numerous foes approach forbear to stay,  
 “ But fly from horse, and foot, and arms away.  
 “ Thou shalt, immortal Salamis, destroy  
 “ The rising source of many a mother’s joy:  
 “ Thou shalt—tho’ Ceres scatter o’er the plain,  
 “ Or keep within dispos’d, her golden grain.”

CXLII. The messengers, as reasonably they might, deeming this reply less severe than the former, wrote it down, and returning to Athens recited it to the people. Many different, and indeed entirely opposite opinions, were delivered concerning the meaning of the oracle: some of the oldest men thought it intended to declare, that the citadel, which formerly was surrounded by a pallisade, should

<sup>104</sup> *The second answer.*]—This has generally been imputed to the interposition of Themistocles, who, as Plutarch informs us, despairing to influence his fellow citizens by any human arguments, brought to his aid divine revelations, prodigies, and oracles, which he employed like machines in a theatre.

not be taken, to which pallifade they referred the oracular expression of the wooden wall. Others thought, that the deity, by a wooden wall, meant ships, which therefore, omitting every thing else, it became them to provide. But they who inclined to this opinion were perplexed by the concluding words of the oracle :

- “ Thou shalt, immortal Salamis, destroy  
 “ The rising source of many a mother’s joy :  
 “ Thou shalt—tho’ Ceres scatter o’er the plain,  
 “ Or keep within dispos’d, her golden grain ;”

for the interpreters of the oracle presumed, that a defeat would be the consequence of a sea engagement near Salamis.

CXLIII. There was at Athens a man lately arrived at the first dignities of the state, whose name was Themistocles, the son of Neocles ; he would not allow the interpreters of the oracles to be entirely right. “ If,” said he <sup>105</sup>, “ that prediction had

<sup>105</sup> *If, said he.*]—The last-mentioned oracle is thus given by Glover in his *Athenaid*, book i. 334.

“ Ah, still my tongue like adamant is hard ;  
 Minerva’s tow’rs must perish : Jove severe  
 So wills, yet granting, at his daughter’s suit,  
 Her people refuge under walls of wood ;  
 But shun the myriads of terrific horse,  
 Which on your fields an eastern Mars shall bring.”  
 She ceas’d, th’ Athenian notes her answer down ;  
 To one the most entrusted of his train  
 He gives the tablet : “ Back to Athens fly,”  
 He said, “ the son of Neocles alone,  
 By his unbounded faculties, can pierce  
 The hidden sense of these mysterious strains.”

“ referred

“referred to the Athenians, the deity would not  
 “have used terms so gentle. The expression would  
 “surely have been, ‘O wretched Salamis,’ and not  
 “‘O immortal Salamis,’ if the inhabitants had  
 “been doomed to perish in the vicinity of that island.”  
 Every more sagacious person, he thought, must  
 allow that the oracle threatened not the Athenians,  
 but the enemy; he recommended them, therefore,  
 to prepare for an engagement by sea, the only proper  
 interpretation of the walls of wood. This opinion  
 of Themistocles appeared to the Athenians more  
 judicious than that of the interpreters, who were  
 averse to a naval engagement; and who advised  
 their countrymen to attempt no resistance, but to  
 abandon Attica, and seek another residence.

CXLIV. Themistocles had on a former occasion given proofs of his superior sagacity: a considerable sum of money had been collected in the public treasury, the produce of the mines of Laurium. A proposal had been made, and approved, that this should be equally divided amongst the citizens of mature age, at the rate of ten drachmæ a head; Themistocles dissuaded<sup>106</sup> the Athenians from this measure, and prevailed on them to furnish out with it a fleet of two hundred vessels, for the war with Ægina. It was this war, therefore, which

<sup>106</sup> *Themistocles dissuaded.*]—Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, relates the same fact. It was doubtless a bold though sagacious measure, and one of those which, as it happens to meet the temporary emotion of the people, occasions a man either to be torn in pieces as the betrayer, or venerated as the saviour of his country.—*T.*

operated to the safety of Greece, by obliging the Athenians to become sailors. This fleet was not applied to the purpose for which it was originally intended, but it opportunely served for the general benefit of Greece. The above ships being already prepared, the Athenians had only to encrease their number : it was therefore determined, in a general council, held after the declaration of the oracle, that they could not better testify their obedience to the divinity, than by meeting at sea the Barbarian invader of their country, in conjunction with those Greeks who chose to join their arms.—Such were the oracles delivered to the Athenians.

CXLV. At this council all the other Greeks assisted who were animated with an ingenuous ardour with respect to their country. After a conference, in which they pledged themselves to be faithful to the common interest, it was first of all determined, that their private resentments and hostilities should cease. At this period great disturbances existed, but more particularly betwixt the people of Athens and Ægina. As soon as they heard that Xerxes was at Sardis, at the head of his forces, the Athenians resolved to send some emissaries into Asia, to watch the motions of the king. It was also determined, to send some persons to Argos, to form with that nation a confederacy against the Persian war : others were sent to Sicily, to Gelon, the son of Dinomenis ; some to Corcyra and Crete, to solicit assistance for Greece. It was their view, if possible, to collect Greece into one united



united body, to counteract a calamity which menaced their common safety. The power of Gelon was then deemed of so much importance, as to be surpassed by no individual state of Greece.

CXLVI. When all these measures were agreed upon, and their private animosities had ceased, their first step was to send three spies <sup>107</sup> to Asia. These men, on their arrival at Sardis, were seized, in the act of examining the royal army, and being tortured by the command of the generals of the land forces, were about to be put to death. When Xerxes heard of this, he expressed himself displeased with the proceedings of his officers, and sending some of his guards, he commanded them to bring the spies to his presence, if they were not already dead: the guards arrived in time to preserve them, and they were conducted to the royal presence. Xerxes, after enquiring their business, directed his guards to lead the men round his army <sup>108</sup>,

<sup>107</sup> *Three spies.*—The treatment of spies is one of those things about which nations the most polished and the most barbarous have always thought and acted alike. To hang a spy the moment he is discovered, without any forms of judicial process, is warranted by universal consent, and seems justifiable on the common maxims of policy.

The refinement of modern times annexes a considerable degree of infamy to the employment and character of a spy, but the enterprize of Diomed and Ulysses, as recorded by Homer, seems to prove that this was not always the case.—T.

<sup>108</sup> *Round his army.*—A similar conduct was pursued by Caius Fabricius, with regard to the spies of Pyrrhus.

and shew them all his forces, both horse and foot; when they had fully satisfied their curiosity, he suffered them to depart without molestation, wherever they thought proper. Xerxes was prompted to this conduct, by the idea that if the spies were put to death, the Greeks would be able to form no conception of his power exceeding even the voice of fame; he imagined also, that the loss of three individuals could prove of no serious detriment to the enemy. But he concluded, that by the return of these men to Greece, the Greeks, hearing of the preparations made against them, would not wait his arrival to make their submissions; and that consequently he should be spared the trouble of marching against them.

CXLVII. Upon another occasion Xerxes appeared to reason in the same manner: when he was at Abydos he saw some vessels sailing over the Hellespont, which carried corn from the Pontus to Ægina and the Peloponnese. When his attendants discovered them to be enemies they prepared to pursue them, and looked earnestly on the king, as expecting his orders to do so. Xerxes enquired where these vessels were going; on being told to the enemy, and that they were laden with corn, "Well," he replied, "and are not we going to the same place, carrying with us corn amongst other necessities? How, therefore, can these injure us, who are carrying provisions for our use." The spies, after surveying all that they desired, returned to Europe.

CXLVIII. After their return,\* those Greeks who had associated to resist the Persian sent messengers a second time to Argos. The Argives give this account of their own conduct :—They were acquainted, they say, at a very early period, with the Barbarian's views upon Greece ; and being aware, and indeed assured, that they would be called upon by the Greeks for their assistance to oppose him, they sent to enquire of the oracle at Delphi what line of conduct they might most advantageously pursue. They had recently lost six thousand of their countrymen, who were slain by the Lacedæmonians, under the conduct of Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides. The Pythian made them this reply :

“ You, whom your neighbours hate, whilst gods

“ above,

“ Immortal gods, with truest kindness love,

“ Keep close within, and well your head defend,

“ Which to the limbs shall sure protection lend.”

This was the answer given them by the Pythian, before the arrival of the Grecian envoys. When these had delivered their commission to the senate of Argos, the Argives expressed themselves disposed to enter into a pacific treaty with the Lacedæmonians, for a term of thirty years, upon condition of having

<sup>109</sup> *The command of half.*]—Diodorus Siculus says, that the Argives sent deputies to the general assembly, who, on asking for a share of the command, received an answer to this effect : That if they thought it harder to submit to the command of a Grecian, than to have a Barbarian master, they might as well stay, as they were, in quiet : if they were ambitious to have the command of Greece, they must deserve it by their noble actions.

~~the~~ command of half<sup>109</sup> of the troops; they thought that in justice they might claim the whole, but agreed to be satisfied with half.

CXLIX. This, according to their own account, was the answer of the Argive senate, in contradiction to the advice of the oracle, not to join the Grecian confederacy. Their awe of the divinity did not prevent their urging with eagerness a treaty for thirty years, in which period their children, they presumed, would arrive at manhood; and they feared, if they refused to make a treaty, and their former misfortunes should be aggravated by any new calamity in the Persian war, they might be ultimately reduced under the Lacedæmonian yoke. To these proposals of the Argive senate the Spartan envoys replied, that with respect to the treaty, they would relate their determination to their countrymen; but as to the military command, they were authorized to make this decisive answer: That as they had two kings, and the Argives but one<sup>110</sup>, the Spartans could not deprive either of their two<sup>111</sup> sovereigns of his privileges; but there was no reason why the Argive prince should not be vested with a joint and equal authority. Thus the Argives relate that they found themselves unable to submit

<sup>110</sup> *The Argives but one.*]—Larcher remarks on this passage, that it is the only one he has been able to discover, which mentions there being a king of Argos.

<sup>111</sup> *Either of their two.*]—In book v. chap. 75, we are told expressly that the Spartans passed a law, forbidding both their kings to be at the same time present with the army, with which assertion the passage before us evidently militates.

to the Lacedæmonian insolence, choosing rather to be subject to the Barbarians, than to the tyranny of Sparta<sup>112</sup>. They therefore informed the ambassadors, that if they did not quit their territories before sun-set, they should be regarded as enemies.

CL. The above is the Argive account; another report, however, is prevalent in Greece:—Xerxes, it is said, before he commenced hostilities with Greece, sent a herald to Argos, who was instructed thus to address the people: “Men of Argos, attend to the  
 “ words of Xerxes: we are of opinion that Perfes,  
 “ whom we acknowledge to be our ancestor, was the  
 “ son of Perfes, whose mother was Danae, and of  
 “ Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus; thus it  
 “ appears that we derive our origin from you<sup>113</sup>. It  
 “ would

<sup>112</sup> *Tyranny of Sparta.*]—The Lacedæmonians, says Valcnaer, and Cleomenes in particular, had on various occasions treated the Argives ill, these, therefore, with the Achæans, were the only people of the Peloponnesus who refused to assist them in the Peloponnesian war.

<sup>113</sup> *Our origin from you.*]—If the fables of Greece may be credited, the royal families of Perseus and Argos came from the same source. From Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius and Jupiter, came Perfes, king of Argos; Perfes had by Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, Perfes, who gave his name to the Persians, before called Cephæri.—*Larcher.*

It is truly said by Plato (in Alcibiad. vol. ii. p. 120.) that the Heraclidæ in Greece, and the Achæmenidæ among the Persians, were of the same stock. On this account Herodotus makes Xerxes claim kindred with the Argives of Greece, as being equally of the posterity of Perfes, the same as Perseus, the sun, under which character the Persians described the patriarch

" Would, therefore, be unnatural either for us to carry  
 " on war with those from whom we are descended, or  
 " for you to make us your adversaries, by giving  
 " your assistance to others. Remain, therefore, in  
 " tranquillity at home; if what I meditate prove  
 " successful, no nation shall receive from me greater  
 " honours than yours." This proposition appeared  
 to the Argives of such serious importance, that they  
 of themselves made no application to the Greeks;  
 and when they were called upon for their assistance,  
 they claimed an equal command, merely with the  
 view of remaining quiet, for they knew the Lacedæmonians would refuse it <sup>114</sup>.

CLI. The above receives confirmation from a circumstance represented in Greece to have happened many years afterwards. The Athenians, upon some occasion or other, sent ambassadors to Susa,

arch from whom they were descended. Perseus was the same as Mithras, whose sacred cavern was styled Perseûm.

Phæbe parëns—seu te roseum Titana vocari  
 Gentis Achæmenix ritu, seu præstat Osirin  
 Frugiferum: seu Persei sub rupibus antri  
 Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram.

*Statius Theb. i. 717.*

The above is from Bryant, vol. ii. 67, 68.—See also, of the same work, vol. i. 466, and vol. iii. 388.

<sup>114</sup> *Would refuse it.*]—Plutarch, in his Essay on the Malignity of Herodotus, which I have so frequently had occasion to mention, says, that this passage is a remarkable instance of our author's malice. "Every body knows," says Plutarch, "that the Argives were not unwilling to enter into the Grecian confederacy, although they did not choose to submit to the tyranny of the Lacedæmonians."—*T.*

the city of Memnon<sup>115</sup>, amongst whom was Callias, the son of Hipponicus : at the same place, and time, were present some Argives, to enquire of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, whether the friendship they had formed with his father Xerxes continued still in force, or whether he regarded them as enemies. Artaxerxes replied, that it certainly did continue, and that no city had a greater share of his regard than Argos.

CLII. In relating the above, I neither speak from my own knowledge nor give any opinion, having no other authority but that of the Argives themselves for saying that Xerxes sent a herald to Argos, or that the Argive ambassadors at Susa interrogated Artaxerxes concerning his friendship for their country. This, however, I know, that if all men were to produce in one place<sup>116</sup> their faults, in order to exchange them for those of their neighbours,

<sup>115</sup> *City of Memnon.*]—Built by Tithonus, the father of Memnon, and called both by Herodotus and Strabo the Memnonian city.

<sup>116</sup> *Produce in one place.*]—This passage is obscure. The meaning of Herodotus seems to be, that if we take the representation of the Argives, their guilt was not considerable, according to the favourable eye with which all men view their own faults. “I know,” says he, “that all men would rather keep their own faults, than take those of others.”

A similar sentiment to this is well expressed by lord Chesterfield, in a paper of the World.

“If, sometimes, our common parent has been a little partial, and not kept the scales quite even, if one preponderates too much, we throw into the lighter a due counterpoise of vanity, which never fails to set all right. Hence it happens, that hardly any man would without reserve, and in every particular, change with any other.”

Solon,

hours, the result would be, that after due examination each would willingly return with what he brought.—The conduct of the Argives, according to this representation, was not the basest possible. But it is incumbent upon me to record the different opinions of men, though I am not obliged indiscriminately to credit them; and let this my opinion be applied to the whole of my history. It is then also asserted, that the Argives first invited the Persian to invade Greece, imagining, after the losses they had sustained from the Lacedæmonians, that they could experience no change for the worse.

CLIII. With the view of forming a treaty with Gelon, there arrived in Sicily different ambassadors from the several allies, and Syagrus on the part of the Lacedæmonians. An ancestor of this Gelon was a

Solon, according to Valerius Maximus, book vii. c. 2. asserted the same thing concerning human miseries. “Solon aiebat si in unum locum cuncti mala sua contulissent, futurum ut propria deportare domum quam ex communi miseriarum acervo portionem suam ferre mallent.” This topic is treated with great humour in the Spectator, N<sup>o</sup> 557 and 558. Should there be any doubt about the meaning of *κατα*, in this passage, it may be observed that Plutarch substitutes *συνθηματα*.

Plutarch, after reprobating the manner in which Herodotus speaks of the Argives, adds this comment :

“What he therefore reports the Æthiopian to have exclaimed concerning the ointment and the purple, ‘Deceitful are the beauties, deceitful the garments of the Persians,’ may be applied to himself, for deceitful are the phrases, deceitful the figures, which Herodotus employs, being perplexed, fallacious, and unsound. For as painters set off and render more conspicuous the luminous parts of their pictures by the aid of shades, so he by his denials extends his calumnies, and by his ambiguous speeches makes his suspicions take the deeper impression.”—T.



citizen of Gela<sup>117</sup>, of the island of Telo, 'opposite Triopium; when the Lindians of Rhodes<sup>118</sup>, and Antiphemus, built Gela, he accompanied them. His

<sup>117</sup> *Gela.*]—The curious reader will find every thing relating to Gela amply discussed by the learned d'Orville, in his *Sicula*, page 111 to page 131. It seems probable that it was built 713 years before Christ. According to Diodorus Siculus, Phintias, tyrant of Agrigentum, destroyed Gela about the 124th Olympiad, and 572 years after its first foundation: the inhabitants he removed to the town of Phintias, which he built. A medal has been found in Sicily, on one side of which was a minotaur, the well known type of the people of Gela; on the reverse a wild boar, which is always found on the medals of Phintias. See Larcher's *Table Geographique*, vol. vii. p. 157.—*T.*

<sup>118</sup> *Rhodes.*]—The Rhodians succeeded the Cretans in the dominion of the sea; they styled themselves sons of the sea.—So Simias, their own historian, says of them, as cited by Clemens Alexand. and explained by Bochart, *υιοι θαλασσης*.—See Diodorus Sic. l. v. Florus calls them *Nauticus populus*. See Meursius, where we find that Rhodes was styled *Mari enata*, because it emerged by the decrease of the sea. They applied themselves with great success to maritime affairs, and became famous for building ships; they took so much care to keep the art to themselves, that it was criminal not only to enter, but even look at their docks.—See in Eustathius in Dion. the expression *τα λινδα πλοια*. The high esteem and credit which Rhodes obtained, is apparent from the succours which the neighbouring states sent her, when almost destroyed by an earthquake. See Polybius. In Polybius the reader may find an account of the wisdom of her politics: one part I cannot omit, namely the just value they set on their poor, and their importance to the state, and of the care they took of them. They established many rules for their maintenance, and made ample provision for them all, wisely concluding, that the better they were used, the more obedient and peaceable they would be, and always ready to attend the summons of the public, in recruiting and manning their fleets. With the terror of these they long maintained the sovereignty

His posterity, in process of time, became the ministers of the infernal deities<sup>119</sup>, which honour Telines, one of their ancestors, thus obtained: Some men of Gela who, in a public tumult, had been worsted, took refuge at Maſtorium, a city beyond Gela. These Telines brought back to their allegiance, without any other aid than the things sacred to the above deities, but where or in what manner he obtained them I am unable to explain. It was by their aid that he effected the return of the citizens of Gela, having previously stipulated that his descendants should be the ministers of the above-mentioned deities. That Telines should undertake and accomplish so difficult an enterprize, seems to me particularly surprising; it was certainly be-

sovereignty of the seas, extending their dominion even to Pharos, near Egypt, till Cleopatra, by subtlety, shook off their yoke. The inhabitants of Pharos complaining of the heavy tribute they annually paid, as many other islands did, to the Rhodians, she ordered a mole to be thrown up to join Pharos to the continent, which was surprisingly executed within seven days, and thence called Eptastadium. Soon after this the Rhodian officers being arrived at Pharos for the payment of the tribute, the queen, riding on horseback over the new causeway to Pharos, told the Rhodians they did not know their own business; that the tribute was not to be paid by the people of the continent, and Pharos was no longer an island. Let me add, that the inhabitants of Rhodes long maintained their credit in maritime affairs, gave their assistance to the unfortunate, curbed and restrained the oppressor, and by the institution of the knights of Jerusalem, in 1303, enlisted themselves in defence of Christianity against the encroachments of the infidels, and gallantly defended their island against the Ottoman forces for the space of 200 years.—T.

<sup>119</sup> *Infernal deities.*]—Ceres and Proserpine.

yond the abilities of any ordinary individual, and could only have been executed by a man of very superior qualities. He is, nevertheless, reported by the people of Sicily to have been a person of different character; that is to say, of a delicate and effeminate nature.—So, however, he attained his dignities.

CLIV. Cleander, the son of Pantareus, after possessing for seven years the sovereignty of Gela, was assassinated by Sabyllus, a citizen of the place, and succeeded in his authority by his brother Hippocrates. During his reign Gelon<sup>120</sup>, one of the posterity of Telines, of whom indeed there were many others, and particularly Ænesidemus, son of Pataïcus, of the body-guard of Hippocrates, was soon, on account of his military virtue, promoted to the rank of general of the cavalry. He had eminently distinguished himself in the several different wars which Hippocrates had prosecuted against the Callipolitæ, the Naxians, the people of Zancle and Leontium, not to mention those of Syracuse, and many barbarous nations. Of all these cities, which I have enumerated, that of Syracuse alone escaped the yoke of Hippocrates. The Syracusans, indeed,

<sup>120</sup> *Gelon.*]—He was not, as Dionysius Halicarnassus asserts, the brother of Hippocrates. From belonging to the body-guard of Hippocrates, he elevated himself to the government of Gela, and from thence to that of Syracuse: this last he rendered a flourishing town, and so attached it to him by his liberality, that when they broke in pieces the statues of the tyrants, to coin them into money, when Timoleon restored its liberty to Syracuse, those of Gelon alone were exempted.—*Larcher.*

had sustained a signal defeat near the river Elorus, but the Corinthians and Corcyræans had supported and delivered them, on the express condition that they should give up to Hippocrates the city of Camarina, which they possessed from the remotest antiquity.

CLV. Hippocrates, after reigning the same period as his brother Cleander, lost his life before the town of Hybla <sup>121</sup>, in a war against the Sicilians. Gelon, after having conquered his fellow-citizens in a fixed battle, under pretence of defending the rights of Euclid and Cleander, sons of Hippocrates, whose accession to their father's dignity was resisted, obtained the supreme authority of Gela, to the exclusion of the lawful heirs. He afterwards obtained possession of Syracuse, taking the opportunity of restoring to their country, from Csamene, those of the Syracusans called Gamori <sup>122</sup>, who had been

<sup>121</sup> *Hybla.*]—There were in Sicily three cities of this name, the greater, the middle, and the little Hybla. The first of these is now called Paterno, and is at the foot of Ætna; the second is the modern Ragusa; the third is Megara.—It was before the second Hybla that Hippocrates died. Hybla was also the name of a mountain in Sicily, which abounded in thyme, and was celebrated for its bees; it has been sufficiently notorious in poetic description.

I am conscious that, with respect to geographical descriptions, I have on all occasions been concise, and some of my readers may perhaps, think to a fault. In answer to this I can only observe, that the geography of Herodotus might be reasonably expected to employ a separate volume.—7.

<sup>122</sup> *Gamori.*]—The Gamori or Geomori, were properly those who, sent out in a colony, divided the lands amongst them.

expelled by the common people, in conjunction with their own slaves the Cillyrians<sup>123</sup>. The Syracusans, on his approach, made their submissions, and delivered up their city.

CLVI. When Gelon became master of Syracuse he made light of Gela, his former possession, and consigned it to the care of his brother Hiero. Syracuse, which now was every thing to him, became soon a great and powerful city. Gelon removed from Camarine all its inhabitants, whom he made citizens of Syracuse, after overturning their city. He did the same with respect to more than half of the people of Gela. He besieged also the people of Sicilian Megara; on their surrender the most wealthy amongst them, who, on account of their activity against him, expected no mercy, were removed to Syracuse, and permitted to enjoy the privileges of citizens. The common people of Megara, who not having been instruments of the war, thought they had nothing to apprehend, after being conducted to Syracuse, were sold as slaves, to be carried out of Sicily. The people of Eubœa in Sicily were in like manner separated, and experienced the same treatment. His motive, in both these instances, was his fear and dislike of the common people: thus he rendered himself a most powerful prince.

CLVII. When the Grecian ambassadors arrived

<sup>123</sup> *Cillyrians*.]—This name is written differently. *Imagier* calls them *Cillicyrians*.

at Syracuse, and obtained an audience of the king, they addressed him to this effect: “ The Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and their common allies, have deputed us to solicit your assistance against the Barbarian. You must have heard of his intended invasion of our country, that he has thrown bridges over the Hellespont, and, bringing with him all the powers of Asia, is about to burst upon Greece. He pretends, that his hostilities are directed against Athens alone; but his real object is the entire subjection of Greece. We call on you, therefore, whose power is so great, and whose Sicilian dominions constitute so material a portion of Greece, to assist us in the vindication of our common liberty. Greece united will form a power formidable enough to resist our invaders; but if some of our countrymen betray us, and others withhold their assistance, the defenders of Greece will be reduced to an insignificant number, and our universal ruin may be expected to ensue. Do not imagine that the Persian, after vanquishing us, will not come to you: it becomes you, therefore, to take every necessary precaution; by assisting us you render your own situation secure.—An enterprize concerted with wisdom seldom fails of success.”

CLVIII. The reply of Gelon was thus vehement: “ Your address to me, O men of Greece,” said he, “ is insolent in the extreme. How can you presume to solicit my aid against the Barbarian, who, when I formerly asked you for assistance against  
“ the

“ the Carthaginians, and to revenge on the people  
 “ of Ægesta the death of Dorieus, the son of  
 “ Anaxandrides, offering in return to make those  
 “ commercial places free, from whence great ad-  
 “ vantages would have been derived to you, on  
 “ both occasions refused to succour me? That all  
 “ this region, therefore, is not in subjection to the  
 “ Barbarians has not depended upon you; the  
 “ event, however, has been fortunate to me. But  
 “ on the approach of war, and your own immedi-  
 “ ate danger, you have recourse to Gelon. I shall  
 “ not imitate your contemptuous conduct; I am  
 “ ready to send to your aid two hundred triremes,  
 “ twenty thousand heavy-armed troops, two thou-  
 “ sand horse, and as many archers, two thousand  
 “ slingers, and an equal number of light-armed ca-  
 “ valry. It shall be my care also to provide corn <sup>124</sup>  
 “ for all the forces of Greece, during the continuance

<sup>124</sup> *Provide corn.*]—The fertility of Sicily, with respect to its corn, has from the most remote times been memorable. In the most flourishing times of Rome it was called the granary of the republic. See Cicero in Verrem, ii.—“ Ille M. Cato sapiens cessam penariam reipublicæ, nutricem plebis Romanæ Siciliam nominavit.” Modern travellers agree in representing Sicily as eminently abundant in its crops of corn.

There is a fragment of Antiphanes preserved in Athenæus, which may thus be translated.

“ A cook from Elis, a caldron from Argos, wine of Phlius, tapestry of Corinth, fish from Sicyon, pipers (αυλητες) fr. Ægium, cheese from Sicily, the perfumes of Athens, and ἐπεὶ δὲ Βεωτία.”

So that cheese also was amongst the numerous delicacies which Sicily supplied.—T.

“ of the war. But I make these offers on the con-  
 “ dition of being appointed to the supreme com-  
 “ mand, otherwise I will neither come myself, nor  
 “ furnish supplies.”

CLIX. Syagrus, unable to contain himself, ex-  
 claimed aloud: “ How would Agamemnon, the  
 “ descendant of Pelops, lament, if he could know  
 “ that the Spartans suffered themselves to be com-  
 “ manded by Gelon, and the people of Syracuse!  
 “ Upon this subject I will hear you no farther: if  
 “ you have any intention of assisting Greece, you  
 “ must submit to be subordinate to the Lacedæmo-  
 “ nians; if you refuse this, we decline your aid.”

CLX. When Gelon perceived the particular  
 aversion of Syagrus to his proposals, he delivered  
 himself a second time as follows: “ Stranger of  
 “ Sparta, when injuries are offered to an exalted  
 “ character, they seldom fail of exciting his resent-  
 “ ment: yet your conduct, insulting as it is, shall  
 “ not induce me to transgress against decency. If  
 “ you are tenacious of the supreme authority, I may  
 “ be reasonably more so, who am master of more  
 “ forces, and a greater number of ships: but as you  
 “ find a difficulty in acceding to my terms, I will  
 “ remit somewhat of my claims. If you com-  
 “ mand the land forces, I will have the conduct of  
 “ the fleet; or, if you will direct the latter, I will  
 “ command the former. You must be satisfied  
 “ with the one of these conditions, or be content  
 “ to



“ to depart without my powerful assistance.”  
 —Such were the propositions of Gelon.

CLXI. The Athenian envoy, anticipating the Lacedæmonian, answered him thus: “ King of  
 “ Syracuse, Greece has sent us to you, not wanting  
 “ a leader, but a supply of forces. Such is your  
 “ ambition, that unless you are suffered to com-  
 “ mand, you will not assist us. When you first  
 “ intimated your wish to have the supreme com-  
 “ mand of our united forces, we Athenians listened  
 “ in silence, well knowing that our Lacedæmonian  
 “ ally would return you an answer applicable to us  
 “ both. As soon as you gave up this claim, and  
 “ were satisfied with requiring the command of the  
 “ fleet alone, I then thought it became me to  
 “ answer you. Know then, that if the Spartan am-  
 “ bassador would grant you this, we would not:  
 “ if the Lacedæmonians refuse the conduct of the  
 “ fleet, it devolves of course to us; we would not  
 “ dispute it with them, but we would yield it to  
 “ nobody else. It would little avail us to possess  
 “ the greater part of the maritime forces of Greece,  
 “ if we could suffer the Syracusans to command  
 “ them. The Athenians are the most ancient peo-  
 “ ple

<sup>125</sup> *My powerful assistance.*]—Ælian, in his *Various History*, book ix. chap. 5. relates this anecdote of Hiero and Themistocles:

When Hiero appeared at the Olympic games, and would have engaged with his horses in the race, Themistocles prevented him, saying, that he who would not engage in the common danger, ought not to have a share in the common festival.

The

“ ple of Greece <sup>125</sup>, and we alone have never  
 “ changed our country: from us was descended  
 “ that

The chronology of this fact is adduced by Bentley, as a convincing argument against the genuineness of the epistles imputed to Themistocles. See Bentley on Phalaris, p. 395.—*q.*

<sup>126</sup> *The most ancient people of Greece.*]—The Athenians, in support of their antiquity, assumed many romantic appellations, calling themselves the sons of the earth, *χθονιοι, αυτοχθονες, γαγενεις, παλαιογονοι*, children of clay. See Hesychius at the word *γαγενεις*. Opposing also these appellations to the fiction of the Egyptians, concerning the generation of man from the slime and mud of the river Nile, they afterwards, as an emblem of their own fortuitous generation, wore the *cicadae*, or harvest flies, commonly translated grasshoppers, in their hair. Their comic poet, who on no occasion spared his countrymen, makes of this their emblem a happy but sarcastic use, telling them that the cicada, which they pretended to be a symbol of themselves, did really exhibit their faithful picture, they were *αιδρωποι ωσπερ παρυσιοι*, with this only difference, that whereas the cicada only sung upon the boughs for a month or two, they sung away their whole lives in hearing causes; that in short they were *σπερμαδοι* (See Athenæus, p. 540.) sauntering through the streets to pick up the loose grain which fell from the industrious farmer, to find out a place, *απραγμονα*, where they had nothing to do. This claim, however, of the Athenians to antiquity was opposed by the Arcadians, who boasted that they existed before the moon, and to keep up this pretence they wore *lunulas* or moons in their shoes, as the Athenians wore the cicada in their hair: they therefore called themselves *προσεληνοι*; and Strabo, in his eighth book, owns their plea, asserting that the Arcadians were the oldest of all the Grecians.—I cannot help remarking that the Arcadians were called *Silen*, before they disputed with the Athenians on the subject of antiquity. A principal part of their possessions in Asia were called *Salonum*, and the cheese there made *caseus Salonites*, words not unlike to *Silenus* and *Selenitæ*. The name also is preserved in *Silenus*,  
 the

“ that hero, who, according to Homer, of all those  
 “ who marched against Troy, was the most expert  
 “ in the arrangement and discipline of an army :  
 “ we relate these things with a becoming sense of  
 “ our own importance.”

CLXII. “ Man of Athens,” answered Gelon,  
 “ it does not appear that you want commanders,  
 “ but troops. Since, therefore, you would obtain  
 “ every thing, and concede nothing, hasten your  
 “ departure, and inform Greece that their year will  
 “ be without its spring.” The meaning of his ex-  
 pression was, that as the spring was the most de-  
 sirable season of the year, so were his forces with  
 respect to those of Greece ; Greece, therefore, desti-  
 tute of his alliance, would be as a year without its  
 spring.

CLXIII. The Grecian ambassadors, after re-  
 ceiving this answer from Gelon, failed back again.  
 Gelon afterwards, apprehending that the Greeks  
 must fall before the Barbarian power, and still dis-  
 daining, as monarch of Sicily, to be subordinate to  
 the Spartans in the Peloponnese, adopted the follow-  
 ing measure :—As soon as he heard that the Persian  
 had passed the Hellespont, he sent three fifty-oared  
 vessels to Delphi, under the conduct of Cadmus, the

the usual companion of Pan, the Arcadian deity. ~~Ceres~~  
 as the Greek language prevailed, might afterwards be changed  
 into *Selenus* or *Selenita*, from the word *Selene*, then better under-  
 stood, or on purpose to maintain the contest of antiquity, and to  
 account for calling themselves *Proseleni*.—T.

son of Scythes, of the isle of Cos; he had with him a large sum of money, and a commission of a pacific tendency<sup>127</sup>. They were to observe the issue of the contest: if the Barbarian proved victorious, they were to give him earth and water, in token of the submission of those places of which Gelon was prince; if victory fell to the Greeks, they were to return home.

CLXIV. This Cadmus had received from his father the sovereignty of Cos; and though his situation was free from every species of disquietude, he resigned his authority from the mere love of justice, and retired to Sicily. Here, in conjunction with the Samians, he inhabited Zancle, the name of which place was afterwards changed to Messana<sup>128</sup>. This man Gelon selected, being convinced from his previous conduct of his inviolable attachment to justice. Amongst the other instances of rectitude which he exhibited, the following is not the least worthy of admiration: If he had thought proper he might have converted to his own use the wealth with which Gelon entrusted him; but after the victory of the Greeks, and the consequent departure

<sup>127</sup> *Pacific tendency.*]—Φιλίως λόγους, literally “friendly words.”

<sup>128</sup> *Messana.*]—It is by no means certain when this happened: the authorities of Herodotus and Thucydides are contradicted by that of Pausanias. The reader who may wish minutely to investigate this fact; I refer to Larcher’s long note to Bentley on Phalaris, page 104, who avails himself of it to detect the forgery of the epistles ascribed to Phalaris; and lastly to d’Orville’s *Sicula*.—T.

of Xerxes, he carried all these riches back again to Sicily.

CLXV. The Sicilians affirm, that Gelon would still have assisted the Greeks, and submitted to serve under the Lacedæmonians, if Terillus, the son of Crinippus, who had been expelled from Himera, where he had exercised the sovereignty, by Theron, son of Ænesidemus, had not at this time brought an army against him. This army was composed of Phœnicians, Africans, Iberians, Ligurians, Helisycians, Sardinians, and Cynians, under the command of Amilcar, son of Anno, king of Carthage<sup>129</sup>, to the amount of three hundred thousand men. This person Terillus had conciliated, partly from the rites of private hospitality, but principally by the interposition of Anaxilaus, son of Cretineus, king of Rhegium, who had given his children as hostages to Amilcar, to induce him to come to Sicily<sup>130</sup>, and revenge the cause of his father-in-law. Anaxilaus had married a daughter of Terillus, whose name was Cycloppe: Gelon, from these circumstances being unable to assist the Greeks, sent, as we have described, a sum of money to Delphi.

<sup>129</sup> *King of Carthage.*]—Larcher remarks, from Polyænus and Cornelius Nepos, that the title of king was frequently given to the Carthaginian generals.

<sup>130</sup> *Come to Sicily.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates, that Xerxes had made a treaty with the Carthaginians, and that it was in consequence of this that the war here mentioned took place in Sicily.

CLXVI. It is related on the same authority, that Gelon and Theron conquered the Carthaginian Amilcar, in Sicily, on the same day <sup>131</sup>, which was remarkable for the victory of the Greeks at Salamis. The father of Amilcar, they assert, was a Carthaginian, his mother a native of Syracuse; he had been elevated to the throne of Carthage for his personal virtues. After being vanquished, as we have described, he disappeared, and was never seen afterwards, dead or alive, though Gelon <sup>132</sup> with the most diligent care endeavoured to discover him.

CLXVII. The Carthaginians, and with some probability, assert, that during the contest of the Greeks and Barbarians in Sicily, which, as is reported, continued from morning till the approach of night,

<sup>131</sup> *On the same day.*]—Diodorus Siculus says the same thing, of course these two authors are agreed about the year of the battle of Thermopylæ, and differ only in a few months. Herodotus makes it to have happened in the beginning of the first year of the 75th Olympiad; Diodorus Siculus some months afterwards.

The victory of Gelon did him great honour; but what in my opinion did him more, was, that when he granted peace to the Carthaginians, he stipulated that they should never again sacrifice children to Saturn. Nevertheless, Diodorus Siculus, who mentions this treaty, says nothing of this condition; and it appears from this author, that the barbarous custom above-mentioned still prevailed in the time of Agathocles, that is to say, in the 117th Olympiad.—*Larcher.*

<sup>132</sup> *Though Gelon.*]—If Polyænus may be believed, Gelon very well knew the fate of Amilcar; see lib. i. c. 27. Not daring to face him openly in the field, he destroyed him by a paltry stratagem, when in the act of offering sacrifice.

Amilcar remained in his camp; here he offered sacrifice to the gods, consuming upon one large pile the entire bodies of numerous victims <sup>133</sup>. As soon as he perceived the retreat of his party, whilst he was in the act of pouring a libation, he threw himself into the flames, and for ever disappeared. Whether, according to the Phœnicians, he vanished in this, or, as the Carthaginians alledge, in some other manner, this last people, in all their colonies, and particularly in Carthage, erected monuments in his honour, and sacrifice to him as a divinity.—Enough perhaps has been said on the affairs of Sicily.

CLXVIII. The conduct of the Corcyreans did not correspond with their professions. The same emissaries who visited Sicily, went also to Corcyra, the people of which place they addressed in the terms they had used to Gelon. To these they received a promise of immediate and powerful assistance: they added, that they could by no means be indifferent spectators of the ruin of Greece, and they felt themselves impelled to give their aid, from the conviction, that the next step to the conquest of Greece would be their servitude; they would therefore assist to the utmost.—Such was the flattering answer they returned. But when they ought to have fulfilled their engagements, having very different views, they fitted out a fleet of sixty vessels;

<sup>133</sup> *Numerous victims.*]—We find Croesus, in a preceding book, offering up three thousand chosen victims; see book i. chap. 30.

these were put to sea, though not without difficulty, and sailing towards the Peloponnese, they stationed themselves near Pylos and Tænaros, off the coast of Sparta. Here they waited the issue of the contest, never imagining that the Greeks would prove victorious, but taking it for granted that the vast power of the Persian would reduce the whole of Greece. They acted in this manner to justify themselves, in addressing the Persian monarch to this effect : “ The  
“ Greeks, O king, have solicited our assistance,  
“ who, after the Athenians, are second to none in  
“ the number as well as strength of our ships ; but  
“ we did not wish to oppose your designs, or to do  
“ any thing hostile to your wishes.” By this language they hoped to obtain more favourable conditions ; in which they do not to me appear to have been at all unreasonable : they had previously concerted their excuse to the Greeks. When the Greeks reproached them for withholding the promised succour, they replied that they had absolutely fitted out a fleet of sixty triremes ; but that the north-east winds would not suffer them to pass the promontory of Malea : and that it was this accident alone, not any want of zeal, which prevented their arrival at Salamis till after the battle. It was thus they attempted to delude the Greeks.

CLXIX. The Cretans being in like manner solicited by the Grecian envoys to assist the common cause, determined to consult the oracle at Delphi about the expediency of such a measure: "Inconsiderate as you are," replied the priestess, "has not  
T 2 " Minos



“ Minos given you sufficient cause to regret the  
 “ part you took with respect to Menelaus? The  
 “ Greeks refused to revenge the murder of Mi-  
 “ nos <sup>134</sup>, at Camicus, though you assisted them to  
 “ punish.

<sup>134</sup> *Minos.*]—The Cretans had sent some forces to the Trojan war, under the conduct of Idomeneus and Merion. Idomeneus was a descendant of Minos, and at his death the government of the family of Minos ceased. Minos expelled from Crete the Rhadamantes; see the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus, cited by Meursius, p. 120. Those who settled with Minos at Crete, are the first whom the Grecian history records for their power and dominion at sea; he extended his jurisdiction to the coasts of Caria on the one hand, and to the cities of Greece on the other; using his power with moderation and justice, and employing it against those lawless rovers and pirates who infested the neighbouring islands, and in the protection and support of the injured and distressed. If he be represented in worse colours by some authors, the painting is the hand of one who copied from those, whose rapine and oppression had provoked and felt his resentment. Minos was no less renowned for his arms abroad, than for his polity and good government at home; he is said to have framed a body of laws, under the direction of Jupiter, for his subjects of Crete, and, though this may have the air of a romance, invented, as such reports were, to give the better sanction to his laws, yet it is confessed, says Strabo, that Crete in ancient times was so well governed, that the best states of Greece, especially the Spartan, did not disdain to transcribe many of its laws, and to form the plan of their government according to this model. Lycurgus retired into Crete, and transcribed its laws.—*Meursius*, p. 162; they related principally to military points. A. Gellius records one instance of this agreement of the military sort, in giving the onset to battle, &c. &c. there are many others in *Meursius*. Besides Plato and Ephorus, mentioned by Strabo, we may add Xenophon and Polybius, bearing their witness to what I have above said of the ancient Cretan character. As it was gained by, so it fell with, the descendants.

“punish the rape of a Spartan woman by a Barbarian.” This answer induced the Cretans to refuse their assistance.

CLXX. It is said that Minos coming to Sicania, now called Sicily, in search of Dædalus<sup>135</sup>, perished

scendants of Minos; for when the Carians had expelled the former, and were become masters of the island, as Diodorus Siculus supposes that they did soon after the Trojan war (book v. at the end) Crete became a den of tyrants, and a nest of pirates, as infamous for their thefts and injustice, as the Eteocretans had been famous for their opposite virtues.—T.

<sup>135</sup> *Dædalus*.]—Diodorus Siculus gives the following account of Dædalus, book iv. c. 76.

Dædalus was an Athenian, of the family of Erechtheus; he was eminently skilful as an architect, as a statuary and engraver. He had arrived at so great excellence, that his posterity boasted of his figures, that they appeared to see and to move like human beings. He was the first who formed eyes to his figures, and represented the limbs and arms correctly and distinctly. Before his time artists made the eyes of their figures closed, the hands suspended close to the sides. His nephew Talos was his pupil, whose ingenuity so excited his envy and jealousy that he killed him: for this he was condemned to death by the Areopagus, but flying to Crete, his talents procured him great reputation, and the friendship of Minos. This he forfeited from using his art to gratify the preposterous passion of Pasiphae, the wife of Minos; whence the story of the birth of the Minotaur. He consequently fled from hence with his son Icarus, who gave his name to the sea where he perished. Dædalus went to Sicily, where he was received and entertained by Cocalus; Minos pursued him with a numerous fleet, he landed in the territory of Agrigentum, and sent to Cocalus to demand Dædalus. Cocalus invited him to a conference, promised to give Dædalus up, and offered him the rites of hospitality; after which he suffocated Minos in a hot bath.

rished by a violent death <sup>136</sup>. Not long afterwards, actuated as it were by some divine impulse, all the Cretans in a body, except the Polichnites and the Præsiens, passed over with a great fleet to Sicania, and for five years laid close siege to Camæcus, inhabited even to my time by the Agrigentines. Unable either to take the place or continue the siege, they were compelled by famine to retire; a furious tempest attacked them off the coast of Iapygia, and drove them ashore. As their vessels were destroyed, and they were unable to return to Crete, they remained there, and built the town of Hyria. Instead of Cretans

It has been disputed, whether with the assistance of Dædalus, Minos was not the inventor of the labyrinth. The credit of the invention is by Pliny assigned to the Ægyptian; Ovid very prettily compares the winding of the Cretan labyrinth to the course of the Meander, l. viii. 160.

Non fecus ac liquidus Phrygiis Mæandros in arvis  
Ludit, et ambiguo lapsu refluitque fluitque,  
Occurrensque sibi venturas aspicit undas;  
Et nunc ad fontes, nunc in mare versus apertum  
Incertas exercet aquas. Ita Dædalus implet  
Innumeras errore vias, &c. T.

<sup>136</sup> *Violent death.*]—Zenobius affirms, that whilst he was at the bath, the daughter of Cocalus killed him, by pouring boiling pitch upon him. Diodorus Siculus says, that Cocalus having permitted him to do what he wished, and offering him the rites of hospitality, suffocated him in a bath, of which the water was too hot. Pausanias says nothing of the kind of death which Minos died; he satisfies himself with saying, that the daughters of Cocalus were so pleased with Dædalus on account of his ingenuity, to oblige him, resolved to destroy Minos. The violent death of this prince caused Sophocles to write a tragedy, called Minos, and appears from Clemens Alexandrinus or Camicoi, as we find in Athenæus.—*Larcher.*

they

they took the name of Messapian Iapyges<sup>137</sup>, and from being islanders they became inhabitants of the continent. From Hyria they sent out several colonies; with these, the Tarentines being afterwards engaged in the most destructive hostilities, received the severest defeat we ever remember to have heard related. The Tarentines were not on this occasion the only sufferers; the people of Rhegium, who had been instigated by Mycithus, son of Chærus, to assist the Tarentines, sustained a loss of three thousand men; the particular loss of the Tarentines has not been recorded. Miccythus had been one of the domestics of Anaxilaus, and had been left to take care of Rhegium; being driven thence, he resided afterwards at Tegea in Arcadia, and consecrated a great number of statues<sup>138</sup> in Olympia.

<sup>137</sup> *Iapyges.*]—So called from Iapix, the name of the son of Dædalus. Iapix was also the name of the Western wind. See Horace:

Obstitit aliis præter Iapyga  
Ventis.

Again,

Ego quid sit ater  
Adriæ novi sinus, et quid albus  
Peccet Iapix.

The particulars of the battle, mentioned in the subsequent part of the chapter, may be found at length in Diodorus Siculus, book ii. chap. 52.

<sup>138</sup> *Great number of statues.*]—These are specified in Pausanias; they consisted of the statues of Amphitrite, Neptune, and Venus, by the hand of Glaucus, an Argive: there were also Proserpine, Venus, Ganymede, Diana, Homer, and Hesiod; next these were Æsculapius and Hygeia, with Agon. These with many others were given by Miccythus, in consequence of a vow made on account of his son, who was afflicted with a dangerous disease.—T.

CLXXI. My remarks concerning the people of Rhegium and Tarentum, have interrupted the thread of my narration. Crete being thus without inhabitants, the Præfians say, that various emigrants resorted there, of whom the greater number were Greeks. In the third age after the death of Minos, happened the Trojan war, in which the Cretans were no contemptible allies to Menelaus. On their return from Troy, and as some have asserted as a punishment for the part they had taken, a severe pestilence and famine destroyed them and their cattle; they who survived, were joined by others who migrated to them, and thus was Crete a third time peopled. By recalling these incidents to their remembrance, the Pythian checked their inclination to assist the Greeks.

CLXXII. The Theffalians were from the beginning compelled to take the part of the Medes, taking care to shew their dislike of the conduct of the Aleuadaæ. As soon as they heard that the Persian had passed over into Europe, they sent deputies to the isthmus, where were assembled the public counsellors of Greece, deputed from those states which were most zealous to defend their country. On their arrival the Theffalian deputies thus spake: “Men of Greece, it will be necessary to defend  
“ the Olympic straits, for the common security of  
“ Theffaly, and of all Greece. We on our parts  
“ are ready to assist in this, but you must also send  
“ a considerable body of forces, which if you omit  
“ to do, we shall undoubtedly make our terms  
“ with

“ with the Persian. It cannot be just that we, who  
 “ from our situation are more immediately exposed  
 “ to danger, should perish alone on your account.  
 “ If you refuse to assist us, you cannot expect us to  
 “ exert ourselves for you. Our inability to resist  
 “ will justify our conduct, and we shall endeavour  
 “ to provide for our own security.”

CLXXIII. The Greeks in consequence determined to send a body of infantry by sea to defend these straits. As soon as their forces were ready they passed the Euripus. Arriving at Alus, in Achaia\*, they disembarked, and proceeded towards Thessaly. They advanced to Tempe, to the passage which connects the lower parts of Macedonia with Thessaly, near the river Peneus, betwixt Olympus and Ossa; here they encamped, to the number of ten thousand heavy-armed troops, and they were joined by the Thessalian horse. The Lacedæmonians were led by Euænctus, son of Carenus, one of the Polemarchs<sup>139</sup>, though not of the blood-royal. Themistocles, son of Neocles, commanded the

\* *In Achaia.*]—Achaia means here Phthiotis, in Thessaly.—  
 See *Strabo*, b. ix.

<sup>139</sup> *One of the Polemarchs.*]—The Polemarch seems to have had separate and distinct duties in peace and in war; in peace, as I have elsewhere observed, it was his business to superintend the strangers resident in Sparta, as well as to see to the maintenance of the children of those who died in the public service.

In war he seems to have been a kind of aid de camp to the king, and to have communicated his orders to the troops. We may presume, from what Herodotus says in the conclusion of the paragraph, that the Polemarchs were generally of the blood-royal.—T.

Athenians.

Athenians. Here they remained but a few days, for Alexander, son of Amyntas, the Macedonian, sent to them, recommending their retreat, from their total inability to make any stand against the land and sea forces of the enemy, whose numbers he explained. The Greeks thinking the advice reasonable, and the Macedonian amicable towards them, regulated their conduct by it. I am rather inclined to impute the part they acted to their fears, being informed that there was another passage into Thessaly, through the country of the Perrhæbi, in the higher region of Macedonia, near the city Gonnos, and through this the army of Xerxes did actually pass. The Greeks retired to their ships, and returned to the isthmus.

CLXXIV. This expedition to Thessaly was undertaken when the king was preparing to pass into Europe, and was already at Abydos. The Thessalians, forsaken by their allies, lost no time in treating with the Medes; they entered warmly into the king's affairs, and proved themselves remarkably useful.

CLXXV. The Greeks, after their return to the isthmus, in consequence of the advice of Alexander, called a council to deliberate how and where they should commence hostilities. It was ultimately determined to defend the straits of Thermopylæ, as being not only narrower than those of Thessaly, but also within a less distance. Of that other avenue by which the Greeks at Thermopylæ were surprized, they

they had not the smallest knowledge, till, having arrived there, they were shewn it by the Trachinians. To prevent the approach of the Barbarians to Greece, they undertook to guard this passage: their fleet they resolved to send to Artemisium on the coast of Histiaotis. These places are so contiguous, that a communication betwixt the two armaments was extremely easy.

CLXXVI. The above places may be thus described:—Artemisium\*, beginning from the Thracian sea, gradually contracts itself into a narrow strait betwixt the island of Sciathus and the continent of Magnesia. At the straits of Eubœa Artemisium meets the coast, upon which is a temple of Diana. The entrance into Greece by the way of Trachis is in its narrowest part half a plethrum; compared with the rest of the country, the part most contracted lies before and behind Thermopylæ<sup>140</sup>; behind, near

\* *Artemisium.*]—According to this description, Artemisium is the name of the whole sea, from Sepias to the Cœnean promontory.

<sup>140</sup> *Thermopylæ.*]—An excellent plan of the straits of Thermopylæ, as they at present appear, may be seen in the charts of the Voyage du Jeune Anacharis. The description which Livy gives of them has been greatly admired.—See liber xxxvi. c. 15.

“Extremos ad orientem montes Cœtam vocant; quorum quod altissimum\* est, Callidromon appellatur, in cujus valle ad Malia-cum sinum vergente iter est non latius quam LX passus. Hæc una militaris via est, qua traduci exercitus, si non prohibeantur possint. Ideo Pylæ, et ab aliis, quia calidæ aquæ in ipsius faucibus sunt, Thermopylæ locus appellatur, nobilis Lacedæmonicorum aduersus Persas morte magis memorabilis quam pugna.”

The



near the Alpeni, there is room only for a single carriage; before, near the river Phœnix, by the town of Anthela, the dimensions of the passage are the same. To the west of Thermopylæ, is a steep and inaccessible mountain, which extends as far as Cœta; to the east, it is bounded by the shoals and by the sea. In these straits, there are warm baths which the natives call Chytri, near which is an altar sacred to Hercules. The place was formerly defended by a wall and by gates: the wall was built by the Phœceans, through fear of the Thessalians, who came from Thesprotia to establish themselves in Æolia, where they now reside. The Thessalians endeavouring to expel them, the Phœceans erected the wall to protect them; and, to make the place marshy and impassable, they suffered the above-mentioned warm springs to empty themselves, using every expedient to prevent the incursions of the Thessalians. The wall had in a great measure mouldered away from length of time: it was repaired, because it was here determined to repel the Barbarian from Greece. In the vicinity is a place called Alpeni, which the Greeks made a repository for their provisions.

CLXXVII. This place the Greeks from every consideration deemed the most eligible. After much

The gates of public buildings were called by the Greeks *θυραι*, the gates of cities *πύλαι*.—See Suidas at the word *πύλαι*. See also Perrenius's note to Ælian, book iii. c. 25.

"The narrow entrance of Greece," says Mr. Gibbon, describing the march of Alaric into Greece, "was probably enlarged by each successive ravisher."—7.

cautious

cautious inspection and deliberation, they concluded that the Barbarians could not here avail themselves either of their numbers or their cavalry; here therefore they determined to receive the disturber of their country. As soon as they were informed of his arrival in Pieria, they left the isthmus; the land forces proceeding to Thermopylæ, the fleet to Artemisium.

CLXXVIII. Whilst the Greeks, according to the resolutions of their council, resorted to their several stations, the Delphians, anxious for themselves and for Greece, consulted the oracle. They were directed, in reply, to address themselves to the winds, for they would prove the best allies of Greece. The Delphians lost no time in communicating this answer to those Greeks who were zealous for their liberty, and who greatly dreading the Barbarian, thought it deserved their everlasting gratitude. An altar was immediately erected, and sacrifice offered to the winds in Thyia, where is a temple in honour of Thyia, daughter of Cephissus<sup>141</sup>, from whom the

<sup>141</sup> *Thyia, daughter of Cephissus.*]—Larcher quotes from Pausanias the following passage:

“Others say that Castalius, a native of the country, had a daughter named Thyia; she was priestess of Bacchus, and was the first who celebrated orgies in honour of that god. From this time, all those were called Thyiades, who became frantic in honour of this god. They say also that Delphus was the son of that Thyia by Apollo; others again say that the mother of Delphus was Melana, the daughter of Cephissus.”

Strabo and Plutarch discerned a great affinity and likeness between

the place has its name. In consequence of the above oracle, the Delphians to this day supplicate the winds.

CLXXIX. The fleet of Xerxes moving from Therma, dispatched ten of their swiftest sailing vessels to Sciathus, where were three guardships of the Greeks, of Trœzene, Ægina, and Athens. These, on sight of the Barbarian vessels, immediately fled.

CLXXX. The Barbarians, after a pursuit, took the Trœzenian vessel commanded by Praxinus. The most valiant of the crew they sacrificed on the prow of the ship, thinking it a favourable omen that their first Greek capture was of no mean distinction. The name of the man they slew was Leon, and to his name perhaps he owed his fate.

CLXXXI. The vessel of Ægina occasioned the enemy more trouble; it was commanded by Asonides, and amongst its warriors was Pythes<sup>142</sup>, son of Ischenous, who on that day greatly distinguished himself. When his ship was taken, he persevered in his resistance, till he was cut in pieces: at length he fell, but, as he discovered some signs of life, the

between the frantic rites of Cybele, the orgia of Bacchus, and the mysteries of Pan.—*T.*

<sup>142</sup> *Pythes.*]—Bellanger in a long note endeavours to prove that it should be Pytheas, and not Pythes. To all his arguments I am satisfied to oppose the learned authority of Longinus, who writes the nominative case Pythes.—*Larcher.*

Persians, in admiration of his valour, made every possible effort to preserve him, bathing his wounds with myrrh, and applying to them bandages of cotton<sup>143</sup>. On their return to their camp, they exhibited him to the whole army as a man deserving universal esteem; whilst they treated the rest of the crew as vile slaves.

## CLXXXII.

<sup>143</sup> *Bandages of cotton.*]—I have proved in another place, that Byssus was cotton. A very learned man has objected to me, that as the tree which produces cotton was not cultivated in Ægypt, in the time of Prosper Alpinus, except in gardens, it must necessarily, in the time of Herodotus, have been still more uncommon; which induces him to believe, with father Hardouin, that it is a species of fine linen. This does not to me seem conclusive. It may be reasonably supposed that the floods may in a great degree have destroyed that plant, and particularly since Ægypt is become barbarous (*devenue barbare.*) This may be one cause of its scarcity in the time of Prosper Alpinus, and does not prove to me that it was scarce in the time of Herodotus, or even before his time. According to my interpretation, the Persians bound the wounds of Pythes with cotton; we in similar cases use lint: but the Ægyptians at this day use lint of cotton for wounds and sores.—*Larcher.*

I do not know whether what I have to offer, in contradiction to M. Larcher's opinion on this subject, may be thought satisfactory, but I think that they merit the attention of the English reader. I have before observed, that the finest linen of Ægypt was of a very coarse nature, of whatever it was composed; and I find in Ezekiel, xxvii. 7. the following verse:\*

ΕΥΣΣΟΣ μετὰ ποικιλίας ἐξ αἰγυπτῶν ἐγένετο τοῖς τρωμαῖς, καὶ περιβέλαι· σοὶ δοξάν, καὶ περιβέλαι σε ὑακινθῶν καὶ πορφύραν ἐκ τῶν νησῶν ἐλθίσαι, καὶ ἐγένετο περιβόλαια σε. Which our translators have thus rendered:

Fine linen with brodered work from Ægypt, was that  
which

CLXXXII. Two of the vessels being thus taken, the third, commanded by Phormus, an Athenian, in its endeavour to escape, went ashore at the mouth of the Peneus. The Barbarians took the ship but not its crew. The Athenians got on shore, and proceeding through Thessaly, arrived safe at Athens. The Greeks stationed at Artemisium were made acquainted with the above event by signals of fire from Sciatnus. They instantly retired in alarm to Chalcis, with the view of guarding the Euripus. They did not however omit to place daily centinels on the heights of Eubœa.

CLXXXIII. Three of the ten Barbarian vessels sailed to the rock called Myrmex, betwixt Sciathus and Magnesia. Here they erected a column, with stones which they brought with them for that purpose. They spent eleven days on this cruize, after the king's departure from Therma, being conducted safe with respect to this rock by Pammos the Scyrian. Sailing from the above place, they in one days passed along the coast of Magnesia to Sepias, on the shore which lies betwixt the town of Casthanna and the coast of Sepias.

which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elisha was that which covered thee.

That *Βύσσος* is properly expressed by the word linen, I believe; but why it should be rendered fine linen, I am at a loss to imagine. We are expressly told that it was used for sail-cloth, and was probably of a substance equally coarse with that mentioned by Virgil:

Usum in castrorum aut miseris velamina nautis. T.

CLXXXIV.

CLXXXIV. Thus far, and to Thermopylæ, the army of Xerxes met with no misfortune. The number of the vessels which left Asia amounted, if my conjectures have not deceived me, to twelve hundred and seven. The complement of the crews by which they were originally<sup>144</sup> manned was two hundred forty-one thousand four hundred, composed of the different auxiliaries, and allowing two hundred men to each vessel: to these, independent of their own proper crews, are to be added thirty of either Persians, Medes, or Sacæ. The whole number of these last was thirty-six thousand two hundred and ten: to the above are also to be added those who were on board the vessels of fifty oars, to which we may allow at the rate of eighty men to each. The whole number therefore of these will be found to have been three thousand, and of the men two hundred and forty thousand. Thus the fleet which left Asia was composed of five hundred seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. The infantry consisted of seventeen hundred thousand men; the number of the cavalry was eighty thousand. The Arabians with their camels, and the Africans in their chariots, were twenty thousand more. The above was the armament which left Asia; to make no mention of the menial attendants, the transports which carried the provisions, and their crews.

<sup>144</sup> *Originally.*]—That is, I suppose, without the troops which the king added to his armament in progress from Asia to Europe.

CLXXXV. To these are still to be added all those troops which were brought from Europe; of the precise number of which we can only speak from opinion. The Greeks of Thrace, and of the islands contiguous, furnished one hundred and twenty vessels, the crews of which amounted to twenty-four thousand men: a body of land forces was also provided by the Thracians, Pæonians, the Eordi, Bottiæans<sup>145</sup>, Chalcidians, Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhæbians, Enienes, Dolopes, Magnesians, Achæans, and the other people who inhabit the maritime parts of Thrace. The amount of all these was I believe three hundred thousand men. These collectively, added to the Asiatic forces, make two millions six hundred forty-one thousand six hundred and ten fighting men.

CLXXXVI. Great as the number of these forces was, the number of the menial attendants, of the crews on board the transports carrying the provisions, and of the other vessels following the fleet, was I believe still greater. I will however suppose them equal. Thus it will appear that Xerxes son

<sup>145</sup> *Bottiæans.*]—The Bottiæans were of Athenian origin, and, according to Aristotle, from those children whom the Athenians sent to Minos in Crete by way of tribute. These children grew old in that island, gaining their livelihood by the labour of their hands. The Cretans, in compliance with some vow, sent to Delphi the first-fruits of their citizens: to whom they added these descendants of the Athenians. As they could not subsist there, they went to Italy, and established themselves in Iapygia; from hence they went to Thrace, where they took the name of Bottiæans.—*Larcher.*

of Darius, conducted to Sepias and to Thermopylæ an army consisting of five millions two hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men.

CLXXXVII. The above was the aggregate of the troops of Xerxes: as to the women who prepared the bread, the concubines and eunuchs, no one has ever attempted to ascertain their number. The baggage waggons also, the beasts of burden, and the Indian dogs, which accompanied the army, defied all computation. We can hardly be surprised that the waters of some rivers were exhausted; but we may reasonably wonder how provision could be supplied to so vast a multitude. According to a calculation made by myself, if each of the above number had only a chænix of corn a day, there would every day be consumed <sup>146</sup> ten thousand three hun-

<sup>146</sup> *Every day be consumed.*]—Maitland, who I believe is generally allowed to be a faithful and accurate historian, furnishes us with a table of the quantity of cattle consumed annually in London, above thirty years ago, when that city was far less populous than it is at present:

|                 |   |   |   |   |         |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---------|
| Beeves          | - | - | - | - | 98,244  |
| Calves          | - | - | - | - | 194,760 |
| Hogs            | - | - | - | - | 186,932 |
| Pigs            | - | - | - | - | 52,000  |
| Sheep and Lambs | - | - | - | - | 711,123 |

The most inquisitive calculators seem now agreed in allowing, upon an average, to the metropolis a million of inhabitants.

—T.



dred and forty medimni <sup>147</sup>. Neither does this computation comprehend the quantity allowed to the women, eunuchs, cattle, and dogs. Amongst all these myriads of men, with respect to grace and dignity of person <sup>148</sup>, no one better deserved the supreme command than Xerxes himself.

CLXXXVIII. The vessels of the fleet, after their arrival on the coast of Magnesia, betwixt the town of Casthanæa and the shores of Sepias, there stationed themselves, the foremost drawing close to land, the others laying on their anchors behind. As the shore was of no great extent, the fleet was ranged in eight regular divisions, with their heads towards the main sea, in which situation they passed the night. On the approach of day, the sky and the sea, which had before been serene, were violently disturbed: a furious storm arose, at-

<sup>147</sup> *Medimni.*]—There were forty-eight chenices in one medimnus; according therefore to the calculation of Herodotus, there ought to have been 5,296,320 men. There is of course a mistake either in the number of medimni or of the troops.

<sup>148</sup> *Grace and dignity of person.*—

Through all the nations which ador'd his pride  
Or fear'd his power the monarch now was pass'd;  
Nor yet among these millions could be found  
One who in beauteous feature might compare,  
Or towering size, with Xerxes. Oh posses'd  
Of all but virtue, doom'd to shew how mean,  
How weak, without her is unbounded power,  
The charm of beauty, and the blaze of state;  
How insecure of happiness, how vain!

*Glover.*

tended

tended with a violent squall of wind from the East<sup>149</sup>, which the inhabitants of these parts call an Hellespontian wind. They who foresaw that the tempest

<sup>149</sup> *From the east.*]—Apeliotes, called also Solanus and Sub-solanus. The ancients originally used only the four cardinal winds; they afterwards added four more. The Romans increased them to twenty-four, and the moderns have added to the four cardinal, twenty-eight collateral winds. The annexed table may probably be useful to many of my readers.

Names of the winds, and points of the compass.

| <i>English.</i>          | <i>Latin and Greek.</i>                        |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1 NORTH - - -            | 1 SEPTENTRIO or BOREAS.                        |
| 2 North by East - -      | 2 Hyperboreas, Hypaquilo, Gallicus.            |
| 3 North, North East -    | 3 Aquilo.                                      |
| 4 North East by North -  | 4 Mesoboreas, Mesaquilo, Supernas.             |
| 5 NORTH EAST - - -       | 5 ARCTAPELIOTES, BORAPELIOTES, GRÆCUS.         |
| 6 North East by East -   | 6 Hypocæfias.                                  |
| 7 East North East - -    | 7 Cæfias, Hellespontius.                       |
| 8 East by North - - -    | 8 Melœciæus.                                   |
| 9 EAST - - - - -         | 9 SOLANUS, SUBSOLANUS, APELIOTES.              |
| 10 East by South - - -   | 10 Hypeurus, or Hypereurus.                    |
| 11 East South East - -   | 11 Euræus or Volæurus.                         |
| 12 South East by East -  | 12 Eurus.                                      |
| 13 SOUTH EAST - - -      | 13 NOTAPELIOTES, EURASTER.                     |
| 14 South East by South - | 14 Eurus.                                      |
| 15 South, South East -   | 15 Phoenix, œciciæus, Leucocæciæus, Grægetæus. |
| 16 South by East - - -   | 16 Mesophœnix.                                 |
| 17 SOUTH - - - - -       | 17 AUSTER, NOTUS, MERIDIES.                    |

tempest would still increase, and whose situation was favourable, prevented the effects of the storm, by drawing their vessels ashore, and with them preserved their own persons: of those whom the hurricane surprized farther out at sea, some were driven to the straits of Pelion, termed the Ipnoi, others went on shore; some were dashed against the promontory of Sepias, others carried to Melibœa and Casthanea, so severe was the tempest.

CLXXXIX. It is asserted, that the Athenians being advised by some oracle to solicit the assistance of their son-in-law, invoked in a solemn manner

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| 18 South by West -       | 18 Hypolibonotus, Alfanus.                 |
| 19 South, South West -   | 19 Libonotus, Notolybicus, Austro-Africus. |
| 20 South West by South - | 20 Mesolibonotus.                          |
| 21 SOUTH WEST - -        | 21 NOTOZEPHYRUS, NOTOLIBYCUS, AFRICUS.     |
| 22 South West by West -  | 22 Hypolibus, Hypafricus, Subvesperus.     |
| 23 West South West - -   | 23 Libs.                                   |
| 24 West by South - -     | 24 Mesolibus, Mesozephyrus.                |
| 25 WEST - - -            | 25 ZEPHYRUS, FAVONIUS, OCCIDENS.           |
| 26 West by North - -     | 26 Hypargestes, Hypocorus.                 |
| 27 West North West -     | 27 Argestes, Caurus, Corus, Iapyx.         |
| 28 North West by West -  | 28 Mesargestes, Mesocorus.                 |
| 29 NORTH WEST - -        | 29 ZEPHYRO-BOREAS, Borolibyus, Olympias.   |
| 30 North West by North - | 30 Hypocircius, Hypothrafcias, Scirem.     |
| 31 North, North West -   | 31 Circius, Thrafcias.                     |
| 32 North by West - -     | 32 Mesocircius.                            |

the aid of Boreas <sup>150</sup>. Boreas, according to the tradition of the Greeks, married Orithya, an Athenian female, daughter of Erechtheus: from this, if fame may be believed, the Athenians were induced to consider Boreas as their son-in-law; and during their station off the Eubœan Chalcis to watch the motions of the enemy, they sacrificed to Boreas and Orithya, invoking their interposition to destroy the Barbarian fleet, as they had before done near mount Athos. I will not presume to say, that in consequence of their supplications Boreas dispersed the Barbarian fleet; but the Athenians do not scruple to affirm, that Boreas, who had before been favourable to them, repeated his efforts to assist them on this occasion.—They afterwards erected a shrine to Boreas on the banks of the Ilissus.

CXC. In this storm, according to the lowest calculation, four hundred vessels were totally lost, with an infinite number of men, and a prodigious treasure. Aminocles son of Cratinus, a Magnesian, who had an estate near Sepias, reaped afterwards very considerable advantage from this tempest: many vessels of gold and silver were thrown by the tides upon his lands; he became master also of

<sup>150</sup> *Boreas.*]—Astræus had by Aurora four sons, Argæstes, Zephyrus, Boreas, and Notus. Some have taken Boreas for a wind, others for a prince of Thrace. This Boreas went to Thrace in Attica, from whence he carried Orithya, daughter of Erechtheus: By this marriage he became son-in-law to Erechtheus, and the Athenians consequently considered him as their ally, calling him their son-in-law also.—*Larcher.*

various Persian treasures, and an immense quantity of gold. Although this incident rendered him affluent, he was in other respects unfortunate; he had by some calamity been deprived of his children<sup>151</sup>.

CXCI. The loss of the provision-transports, and of the other smaller vessels, was too great to be ascertained. The naval commanders, apprehending that the Thessalians would avail themselves of this opportunity to attack them, intrenched themselves within a buttress made of the wrecks of the vessels. For three days the storm was unabated; on the fourth the magi appeased its violence by human victims, and incantations to the wind, as well as by sacrificing to Thetis and the Nereids, unless perhaps the tempest ceased of itself. They sacrificed to Thetis, having learned from the Ionians that it was from this coast she had been carried away by Peleus, and that all the district of Se-

<sup>151</sup> *Of his children.*]—This passage has occasioned great perplexity; but Palmerius in his *Exercitationes* has removed every difficulty, and satisfactorily done away the effects of Plutarch's perverse misconception. Plutarch abuses Herodotus for introducing this circumstance of the affluence of Aminocles, and the means by which he obtained it, merely for an opportunity of saying that he had killed his son.

Plutarch of course refers the word *παῖδοκτονος* to Aminocles; but, as Palmerius observes, by referring the word *παῖδοκτονος*, not to the man, but to his *συμφορῇ* (calamity) every difficulty is removed, and no imputation of malignity can be attached to our historian.—*T.*

pias<sup>152</sup> was sacred to her in common with the other Nereids. It is certain, that on the fourth day the tempest<sup>153</sup> ceased.

CXCII. Their centinels, who were every day stationed on the heights of Eubœa, did not fail to acquaint the Greeks with all the circumstances of the storm on the morning which followed. As soon as they received this intelligence, after paying their vows, and offering libations to Neptune Servator, they hastily returned to Artemisium, hoping to find but few of the enemy's vessels. Thus a second time they fixed their station at Artemisium, near the temple of Neptune surnamed Servator, which appellation, given on the above occasion, is still retained.

CXCIII. The Barbarians, as soon as they perceived the wind subside and the sea calm, again ventured from the shore. Coasting along, they doubled the Magnesian promontory, and made their way directly to the gulph leading to Pagasæ.

<sup>152</sup> *Sepias.*]—This coast was sacred to Thetis, because that goddess, desirous of eluding the pursuit of Peleus, changed herself in this place into a kind of sea-fish, which the Greeks call Σηπια (Sepia.) This story gave the name of Sepias to this coast and promontory.—*Larcher.*

<sup>153</sup> *The tempest.*]—Twenty-four miles to the south-east of Larissa is Volo, said to be Pagasæ, where the poets say the ship Argo was built. Near it is Aphetæ, from which place they say the Argonauts sailed. The south-east corner of this land is the old promontory Sepias, where five hundred sail of Xerxes' fleet were shipwrecked in a storm.—*Pococke.*

It was in this gulph of Magnesia that Hercules, going on shore from the Argo<sup>154</sup> to procure water, was deserted by Jason and his companions, who were bound to Æa of Colchis to obtain the golden fleece. Having taken in water, they sailed from hence; in commemoration of which incident, the place afterwards took the name of Aphetæ.

CXCIV. Here ~~is~~ it ~~was~~ that the fleet of Xerxes came to an anchor. Fifteen of these, being at a considerable distance from their companions, discovered the vessels of the Greeks at Artemisium, and mistaking them for friends, sailed into the midst of them. The leader of these ships was Sardoces, son of Tharmasias, the governor of Cyma, in Æolia. This man Darius had formerly condemned to the punishment of the cross; he had been one of the royal judges, and convicted of corruption in his office. He was already on the cross, when the king, reflecting that his services to the royal family exceeded his offences, and that he himself had in the present instance acted with more impetuosity than prudence, commanded him to be taken down. Thus he escaped the punishment to which Darius had condemned him; his escape now from the Greeks was altogether impossible; they saw him sailing towards them, and perceiving his error attacked and took him and his vessels.

<sup>154</sup> *Argo.*—See book iv. c. 179. Note *Bryant*, ii. 490, 491.

CXCV. In one of these vessels was Aridolis, prince of the Alabandians of Caria; in another, Penthylus, son of Demonous, a Paphian general. This latter left Paphos with twelve vessels, eleven of which were lost in the storm off Sepias; he himself, with the twelfth, fell into the enemy's hands, at Arctesium. The Greeks, having obtained such information as they wished concerning the forces of Xerxes, sent their prisoners bound to the isthmus of Corinth.

CXCVI. Except the above fifteen vessels, commanded by Sardoces, the whole of the Barbarian fleet arrived at Aphetæ. Xerxes with his land forces, marching through Thessaly and Achaia, came on the third day to the territories of the Melians. Whilst he was in Thessaly he made a trial of his cavalry against those of the Thessalians, which he had heard were the best in Greece; but in this contest the inferiority of the Greeks<sup>155</sup> was evidently

<sup>155</sup> *The inferiority of the Greeks.*] —The best cavalry in the world attended Xerxes on this expedition, namely those of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. Hecatonymus tells Xenophon, in the fifth book of the *Anabasis*, that the cavalry of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians was better and more expert in martial exercises than any other which the king of Persia had. That part of Cappadocia which Herodotus calls Cilicia paid as a tribute to the kings of Persia a horse for every day in the year. Strabo says, that Cappadocia sent 1500 horses annually. The boast of Hecatonymus to Xenophon was by no means vain; the same preference was given them by others, and excellent commanders. Plutarch informs us, that on these Crassus the Roman general chiefly relied; and with these sur-  
prising



dently conspicuous. The Onochonus was the only river in Thessaly which did not afford sufficient water for the army. Of those of Achaia, the Apidanus, the greatest of them all, hardly sufficed.

CXCVII. Whilst Xerxes was proceeding to Alos, an Achaian city, his guides, anxious to tell him every thing, related what was reported by the natives concerning the temple of Jupiter Laphystius<sup>156</sup>. It was

prizing feats of gallantry were performed in the Parthian war. Lucullus also had these in his army at the siege of Tigranocerta; and in the battle with Tigranes made choice of them and the Thracian horse to attack the Cataplaets, the choicest of the enemy's cavalry, and to drive them from the ground. Tigranes is said to have opposed Lucullus with an army of 55,000 horse; and many other instances may be adduced to shew that the chief strength of these northern powers consisted in their cavalry.

The curious reader may compare Plutarch's account of the army of Tigranes with that which Ezekiel gives of the army of Magog.

Claudian, in Laud. Serenæ, tells us it was customary to have a breed from a Phrygian mare by a Cappadocian horse:

Delectus equorum

Quos Phrygiæ matres Argæaque gramina pastæ  
Semine Cappadocum sacris præsepibus edunt. T.

<sup>156</sup> *Jupiter Laphystius.*]—It was to this deity that Phrixus sacrificed the ram upon which he was saved; and even to this day, says the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius, one of the descendants of Phrixus enters the prytaneum according to the established law, and offers sacrifices to this god. At twenty stadia from Ceroneus was mount Laphystius, where was a mound consecrated to Jupiter Laphystius: there is still seen in this place a marble statue of this god. Phrixus and Helle being on the point

was said that Athamas, the son of Æolus, in concert with Ino, contrived the death of Phrixus. The Achæians, following the command of the oracle, forbade the eldest of the descendants of Athamas even to enter their prytaneum, called by them Leitus. They were very vigilant in seeing this restriction observed, and whoever was detected within the proscribed limits could only leave them to be sacrificed. There were several who in terror escaped into another country, when they were on the point of being sacrificed. If they ever afterwards returned, they were, if discovered, instantly sent to the prytaneum. To the above, the guides of Xerxes added the description of the sacrifice, the ceremony of binding the victim with ribbands, with all other circumstances. The posterity of Cytissorus, the son of Phrixus, are subject to the above, because Cytissorus himself, in his way from Æa of Colchis, delivered Athamas from the hands of the Achæians, who by the direction of the oracle were about to offer him as an expiatory sacrifice. On this account, the anger of the divinity fell upon the posterity of Cytissorus. In consequence of hearing the above narrative, Xerxes, when he approached the precincts of the grove, cautiously avoided it himself, and commanded all his army<sup>157</sup>

to

point of being sacrificed in this place by Athamas, they say that Jupiter sent them a ram whose fleece was gold, upon which they saved themselves.

Jupiter surnamed Laphystius was, according to Kuhnus, the protector of fugitives.—*Larcher*.

<sup>157</sup> *All his army.*]—See on this subject Bryant, vol. ii. 40,

to do the same. He shewed the same veneration for the residence of the posterity of Athamas.

CXCVIII. Such were the incidents which occurred in Theffaly and Achaia. From hence Xerxes advanced to Melis, near a bay of the sea, where the ebbing and flowing of the tide may be seen every day. Near this bay is an extensive plain, wide in one part, and contracted in another: round this plain are certain lofty and inaccessible mountains, called the Trachinian rocks, and enclosing the whole region of Melis. Leaving Achaia, the first city near this bay is Anticyra. This is washed by the river Sperchius, which, rising in the country of the Enieni, here empties itself into the sea. At the distance of twenty furlongs is another river, called Dyrras, which is said to have risen spontaneously from the earth, to succour Hercules when he was burning. A third river, called Melas, flows at the distance of twenty furlongs more.

41, &c.—This writer supposes, and his opinion is confirmed by Suidas, that the prutaneion is derived from πυρ, fire: the words of Suidas are these: *πρυτανειον, πυρος ταμειον ενθα ην ασβεστον πυρ*. The Scholiast upon Thucydides talks to the same purpose: *αλλοι δε φασιν οτι το πρυτανειον πυρος ην ταμειον ενθα ην ασβεστον πυρ*. Others tell us that the prutaneion was of old called *puros tameion*, from *pur*, because it was the repository of a perpetual fire. These places were temples, and at the same time courts of justice; hence we find that in the prutaneion of Athens the laws of Solon were engrav'd. These laws were described upon wooden cylinders, some of which remained to the time of Plutarch, &c.—*Bryant*.

CXCIX. Within five furlongs of this last river stands the town of Trachis. In this part the country is the widest, extending from the mountains to the sea, and comprehending a space of twenty-two thousand plethra. In the mountainous tract which incloses Trachinia there is an opening to the west of Trachis, through which the Asopus winds round the base of the mountain.

CC. To the west of this river small stream is found, named the Phœnix; it rises in these mountains, and empties itself into the Asopus. The most contracted part of the country is that which lies nearest the Phœnix, where the road will only admit one carriage to pass. From the Phœnix to Thermopylæ are fifteen furlongs: betwixt the Phœnix and Thermopylæ is a village named Anthela, passing which the Asopus meets the sea. The country contiguous to Anthela is spacious; here may be seen a temple of Ceres Amphictyonis, the seats of the Amphictyons<sup>158</sup>, and a shrine of Amphictyon himself.

CCI. Xerxes encamped in Trachinia at Melis; the Greeks in the Straits. These straits the Greeks in general call Thermopylæ; the people of the country Pylæ only. Here then were the two armies

<sup>158</sup> *Amphictyons.*]—See book v. c. 62, note. What I have there omitted concerning the Amphictyons, their office, and character, may be found amply discussed in Gillies's History of Greece, and faithfully represented in Rees's Chambers's Dictionary, as well as by Larcher.—T.

stationed,

stationed, Xerxes occupying all the northern region as far as Trachinia, the Greeks that of the south.

CCII. The Grecian army <sup>159</sup>, which here waited the approach of the Persian, was composed of three hundred Spartans in complete armour; five hundred Tegeatæ, and as many Mantineans; one hundred and twenty men from Orchomenus of Ar-

<sup>159</sup> *The Grecian army.* — Beneath is the number of Greeks who appeared on this occasion, according to the different representations of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Diodorus Siculus:

|              | Herodotus. | Pausanias. | Diodorus.         |
|--------------|------------|------------|-------------------|
| Spartans     | — 300 —    | 300        | — 300             |
| Tegeatæ      | — 500 —    | 500        | Lacedæmonians 700 |
| Mantineans   | — 500 —    | 500        | The other nati-   |
| Orchomenians | — 120 —    | 120        | ons of the Pe-    |
| Arcadians    | — 1,000 —  | 1,000      | loponnese - 3,000 |
| Corinthians  | — 400 —    | 400        |                   |
| Phlyontians  | — 200 —    | 200        |                   |
| Mycenians    | — 80 —     | 80         |                   |
|              | — — —      | — — —      | — — —             |
| Total        | — 3,100 —  | 3,100      | 4,000             |
|              | — — —      | — — —      | — — —             |

The above came from the Peloponnese; those who came from the other parts of Greece, according to the authors above-mentioned—

|                   |           |        |           |       |
|-------------------|-----------|--------|-----------|-------|
| Thespians         | — 700 —   | 700    | Milefians | 1,000 |
| Thebans           | — 400 —   | 400    | —         | 400   |
| Phoceans          | — 1,000 — | 1,000  | —         | 1,000 |
| Opuntian Locrians | — — —     | 6,000  | —         | 1,000 |
|                   | — — —     | — — —  |           | — — — |
|                   | 5,200     | 11,200 |           | 7,400 |
|                   | — — —     | — — —  |           | — — — |

cadia

cadia, a thousand men from the rest of Arcadia, four hundred Corinthians, two hundred from Phlius, and eighty from Mycenæ. The above came from the Peloponnese: from Bœotia there were seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans.

CCIII. In addition to the above, the aid of all the Opuntian Locrians had been solicited, together with a thousand Phœceans. To obtain the assistance of these, the Greeks had previously sent emissaries among them, saying, that they were the forerunners only of another and more numerous body, whose arrival was every day expected. They added, that the defence of the sea was confided to the people of Athens and Ægina, in conjunction with the rest of the fleet; that there was no occasion for alarm, as the invader of Greece was not a god, but a mere human being; that there never was nor could be any mortal superior to the vicissitudes of fortune; that the most exalted characters were exposed to the greatest evils; he therefore, a mortal, now advancing to attack them, would suffer<sup>160</sup> for his temerity.

<sup>160</sup> *Would suffer.*]—The expedition of Xerxes to Greece, and his calamitous return, as described by Herodotus, might be well expressed by the words which in Ezekiel represents Gog's army and its destruction.—See chapter xxxviii. xxxix.

“Thou shalt ascend and come like a storm; thou shalt be like a cloud to cover the land; thou and all thy bands, and many people with thee:

“Persia, Æthiopia, and Lybia with them, all of them with shield and helmet.

merity. These arguments proved effectual, and they accordingly marched to Trachis to join their allies.

CCIV. These troops were commanded by different officers of their respective countries; but the man most regarded, and who was entrusted with the chief command, was Leonidas of Sparta. His ancestors were, Anaxandrides, Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxander, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Telechus, Archelaus, Agésilas, Doryffus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hercules.

CCV. An accident had placed him on the throne of Sparta; for, as he had two brothers older than himself, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had entertained no thoughts of the government: but Cleomenes dying without male issue, and Dorieus not surviving (for he ended his days in Sicily) the crown came to Leonidas, who was older than Cleombrotus, the youngest of the sons of Anaxandrides, and who had married the daughter of Cleomenes. On the present occasion he took with him to Thermopylæ a body of three hundred chosen men, all

“ But I will turn thee back, and put hooks into thy jaws. I will turn thee back, and leave but the sixth part of thee: and I will smite thy bow out of thy left hand; and will cause thy arrows to fall out of thy right hand.

“ Thou shalt fall upon the mountains, thou and all thy bands, and the people that is with thee. I will give thee unto the ravenous birds of every sort, and to the beasts of the field, to be devoured.”—T.

of whom had children<sup>161</sup>. To these he added those Theban troops<sup>162</sup> whose number I have before mentioned, and who were conducted by Leontiades son of Eurymachus. Leonidas had selected the Thebans to accompany him, because a suspicion generally prevailed that they were secretly attached to the Medes. These therefore he summoned to attend him, to ascertain whether they would actually contribute their aid, or openly withdraw themselves from the Grecian league. With sentiments perfectly hostile, they nevertheless sent the assistance required.

CCVI. The march of this body under Leonidas was accelerated by the Spartans, that their example might stimulate their allies to action, and that they might not make their delay a pretence for going over to the Medes. The celebration of the Carnian festival<sup>163</sup> protracted the march of their main

<sup>161</sup> *All of whom had children.*—

Three hundred more compleat th' intrepid band,  
 Illustrious fathers all of generous sons,  
 The future guardians of Laconia's state. *Leonidas.*

<sup>162</sup> *Theban troops.*—Plutarch upbraids Herodotus for thus slandering the Thebans; and Diodorus says, that Thebes was divided into two parties, one of which sent four hundred men to Thermopylae.—7.

<sup>163</sup> *Carnian festival.*—This was continued for seven days at Sparta in honour of Apollo. Various reasons are assigned for its institution; the most plausible is that found in the Scholiast to Theocritus, which tells us that they were celebrated by the people of the Peloponnese, to commemorate the cessation of some pestilence.—7.



body; but it was their intention to follow with all imaginable expedition, leaving only a small detachment for the defence of Sparta. The rest of the allies were actuated by similar motives, for the Olympic games happened to recur at this period; and as they did not expect an engagement would immediately take place at Thermopylæ, they sent only a detachment before them.

CCVII. Such were the motives of the confederate body. The Greeks who were already assembled at Thermopylæ were seized with so much terror on the approach of the Persian, that they consulted about a retreat. Those of the Peloponnese were in general of opinion that they should return and guard the isthmus; but as the Phoceans and Locrians were exceedingly averse to this measure, Leonidas prevailed on them to continue on their post. He resolved however to send messengers round to all the states, requiring supplies, stating that their number was much too small to oppose the Medes with any effect.

CCVIII. Whilst they thus deliberated, Xerxes sent a horseman to examine their number and their motions. He had before heard in Thessaly, that a small band was collected at this passage, that they were led by Lacedæmonians, and by Leonidas of the race of Hercules. The person employed performed his duty: all those who were without the entrenchment he was able to reconnoitre; those who were within for the purpose of defending it eluded

his

his obfervation. The Lacedæmonians were at that period ftationed without<sup>164</sup>; of thefe fome were performing gymnaffic exercifes, whilft others were employed in combing their hair. He was greatly aftonifhed, but he leifurely furveyed their number and employments, and returned without moleftation, for they defpifed him too much to purfue him. —He related to Xerxes all that he had feen.

CCIX. Xerxes, on hearing the above, was little aware of what was really the cafe, that this people were preparing themfelves either to conquer or to die. The thing appeared to him fo ridiculous, that he fent for Demaratus the fon of Arifton, who was then with the army. On his appearing, the king questioned him on this behaviour of the Spartans, expreffing his defire to know what it might intimate. “ I have before, Sir,” faid Demaratus, “ fpoken to you of this people at the “ commencement of this expedition; and as I re- “ member, when I related to you what I knew

<sup>164</sup> *Stationed without, &c.]—*

By chance

The Spartans then compos'd th' external guard;  
They, in a martial exercife employ'd,  
Heed not the monarch and his gaudy train,  
But poife the fpear protended as in fight,  
Or lift their adverfe fields in fingle ftrife,  
Or trooping forward rufh, retreat, and wheel  
In ranks unbroken, and with equal feet:  
While others calm beneath their polifh'd helms  
Draw down their hair, whose length of fable curls  
O'erfpread their necks with terror, *Leonidas.*

“ you would have occasion to observe, you treated  
 “ me with contempt. I am conscious of the dan-  
 “ ger of declaring the truth, in opposition to your  
 “ prejudices; but I will nevertheless do this. It  
 “ is the determination of wise men to dispute this  
 “ pass with us, and they are preparing them-  
 “ selves accordingly. It is their custom before any  
 “ enterprize of danger to adorn their hair<sup>165</sup>. Of  
 “ this you may be assured, that if you vanquish  
 “ these, and their countrymen in Sparta, no other  
 “ nation will presume to take up arms against you :  
 “ you are now advancing to attack a people whose  
 “ realms and city are the fairest, and whose troops  
 “ are the bravest of Greece.” These words seem-  
 ed to Xerxes preposterous enough; but he demand-  
 ed a second time, how so small a number could  
 contend with his army. “ Sir,” said he, “ I will

<sup>165</sup> *Adorn their hair.*]—Long hair distinguished the free man from the slave, and, according to Plutarch, Lycurgus was accustomed to say, that long hair added grace to handsome men, and made those who were ugly more terrific. The following are some of the most animated lines in Leonidas :

To whom the Spartan: O imperial lord,  
 Such is their custom, to adorn their heads  
 When full determin'd to encounter death.  
 Bring down thy nations in resplendent steel;  
 Arm, if thou canst, the general race of man,  
 All who possess the regions unexplor'd  
 Beyond the Ganges, all whose wand'ring steps  
 Above the Caspian range, the Scythian wild,  
 With those who drink the secret fount of Nile:  
 Yet to Laconian bosoms shall dismay  
 Remain a stranger.

7.

“ submit

“ submit to suffer the punishment of falsehood, if what I say does not happen.”

CCX. Xerxes was still incredulous, he accordingly kept his position without any movement for four days, in expectation of seeing them retreat. On the fifth day, observing that they continued on their post, merely as he supposed from the most impudent rashness, he became much exasperated, and sent against them a detachment of Medes and Cissians, with a command to bring them alive to his presence. The Medes in consequence attacked them, and lost a considerable number. A reinforcement arrived; but though the onset was severe, no impression was made. It now became universally conspicuous, and no less so to the king himself, that he had many troops, but few men<sup>166</sup>. —The above engagement continued all day.

CCXI. The Medes, after being very roughly treated, retired, and were succeeded by the band of Persians called by the king “ the immortal,” and commanded by Hydarnes. These it was supposed would succeed without the smallest difficulty. They commenced the attack, but made no greater impression than the Medes: their superior numbers

<sup>166</sup> *Many troops, but few men.*]—According to Plutarch, Leonidas being asked how he dared to encounter so prodigious a multitude with so few men, replied: “ If you reckon by number, all Greece is not able to oppose a small part of that army; but if by courage, the number I have with me is sufficient.”—7.

were of no advantage, on account of the narrowness of the place ; and their spears also were shorter than those of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians fought in a manner which deserves to be recorded ; their own excellent discipline, and the unskilfulness of their adversaries, was in many instances remarkable, and not the least so when in close ranks they affected to retreat. The Barbarians seeing them retire pursued them with a great and clamorous shout ; but on their near approach the Greeks faced about to receive them. The loss of the Persians was prodigious, and a few also of the Spartans fell. The Persians, after successive efforts made with great bodies of their troops to gain the pass, were unable to accomplish it, and obliged to retire.

CCXII. It is said of Xerxes himself, that being a spectator of the contest, he was so greatly alarmed for the safety of his men, that he leaped thrice from his throne. On the following day the Barbarians succeeded no better than before. They went to the onset as against a contemptible number, whose wounds they supposed would hardly permit them to renew the combat : but the Greeks, drawn up in regular divisions, fought each nation on its respective post, except the Phoceans, who were stationed on the summit of the mountain to defend the pass. The Persians, experiencing a repetition of the same treatment, a second time retired.

CCXIII.

CCXIII. Whilst the king was exceedingly perplexed what conduct to pursue in the present emergency, Ephialtes the son of Eurydemus, a Melian, demanded an audience: he expected to receive some great recompence for shewing him the path which led over the mountain to Thermopylæ; and he indeed it was who thus rendered ineffectual the valour of those Greeks who perished on this station. This man, through fear of the Lacedæmonians, fled afterwards into Thessaly; but the Pylagoræ<sup>167</sup>, calling a council of the Amphictyons at Pylæa for this express purpose, set a price upon his head, and he was afterwards slain by Athenades, a Trachinian, at Anticyra, to which place he had returned. Athenades was induced to put him to death for some other reason, which I shall afterwards<sup>168</sup> explain; he nevertheless received the reward offered by the Lacedæmonians;—this however was the end of Ephialtes.

<sup>167</sup> *Pylagoræ.*]—Many are involved in a mistake, by confounding the Pylagoræ with the Amphictyons. They were not synonymous, for though all the Pylagoræ were Amphictyons, all the Amphictyons were not Pylagoræ.—See *Potter's Archaeologia Græca*, lib. i. c. 16.

<sup>168</sup> *I shall afterwards.*]—But Herodotus no where does this; whether therefore he forgot it, or whether it appeared in some of his writings which are lost, cannot be ascertained.—See P. Wesselingi *Dissertatio Herodotea*, p. 14.

“Verum nihil hujus nec libro viii. neque nono. Plures ne ergo ix. libris absolvit in quis de Athenada? An excidit ex superscriptis ejus memoria? non dixero. Oblitus ne est ac Athenada addere? Fieri potest. Operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.”

CCXIV. On this subject there is also a different report, for it is said that Onetes, son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydalus of Anticyra, were the men who informed the king of this path, and conducted the Persians round the mountain. This with me obtains no credit, for nothing is better known than that the Pylagoræ did not set a price upon the heads of Onetes or Corydalus, but upon that of Ephialtes the Trachinian<sup>169</sup>, after, as may be presumed, a due investigation of the matter. It is also certain, that Ephialtes, conscious of his crime, endeavoured to save himself by flight: Onetes, being a Melian, might perhaps, if tolerably acquainted with the country, have known this passage; but it was certainly Ephialtes who shewed it to the Persians, and to him without scruple I impute the crime.

CCXV. The intelligence of Ephialtes gave the king infinite satisfaction, and he instantly detached Hydarnes, with the forces under his command, to avail himself of it. They left the camp at the first approach of evening; the Melians, the natives of the country, discovered this path, and by it conducted the Thessalians against the Phoceans, who had defended it by an intrenchment, and deemed themselves secure. It had never however proved of any advantage to the Melians.

<sup>169</sup> *Trachinian.*]—In the preceding chapter Herodotus calls him a Melian; but this amounts to the same thing, as Trachinia made part of Melis.

CCXVI. The path of which we are speaking commences at the river Asopus. This stream flows through an aperture of the mountain called Anopæa, which is also the name of the path. This is continued through the whole length of the mountain, and terminates near the town of Alpenus. This is the first city of the Locrians, on the side next the Melians, near the rock called Melampygius<sup>170</sup>, by the residence of the Cercopes<sup>171</sup>. It is narrowest at this point.

<sup>170</sup> *Melampygius.*]—See Suidas at the article *Μελαμπυγιοι*. The Melampygi were two brothers, and remarkable for their extreme insolence; their mother cautioned them against meeting a man who had “black buttocks.” Hercules meeting them, bound them together, and suspended them from a post, with their heads downwards. Afterwards seeing them laugh, he enquired the reason, they told him that their mother bade them beware of meeting a man with “black buttocks.” Hercules on hearing this laughed too, and let them go. Those who had “white buttocks” (*λευκοπυγες*) were ridiculed by the comic poets as effeminate.—See *Aristophanes Lyssistrata*.

Larcher tells a story somewhat different, from the *Adagia* of Zenobius.—*T.*

<sup>171</sup> *Cercopes.*]—These people were robbers. Homer is said to have written a poem on them, mentioned by Suidas at the word *Ὀμηρος*, and by Proclus in his life of Homer. Probably the expression extended to all sorts of robbers, of whom there were doubtless many in such a place as Cæta. Plutarch mentions them as a ridiculous people, making Agis say to Alexander, “I am not a little surprized that all you great men who are descended from Jupiter take a strange delight in flatterers and buffoons: Hercules had his Cercopians, Bacchus his Silenians about him; so I see your majesty is pleased to have a regard for such characters.”—*Larcher.*



CCXVII. Following this track which I have described, the Persians passed the Asopus, and marched all night, keeping the Cetean mountains on the right, and the Trachinian on the left. At the dawn of morning they found themselves at the summit, where, as I have before described, a band of a thousand Phoceans in arms were stationed, both to defend their own country and this pass. The passage beneath was defended by those whom I have mentioned: of this above the Phoceans had voluntarily promised Leonidas to undertake the charge.

CCXVIII. The approach of the Persians was discovered to the Phoceans in this manner: whilst they were ascending the mountain they were totally concealed by the thick groves of oak; but from the stillness of the air they were discovered by the noise they made by trampling on the leaves, a thing which might naturally happen. The Phoceans ran to arms, and in a moment the Barbarians appeared, who, seeing a number of men precipitately arming themselves, were at first struck with astonishment. They did not expect an adversary; and they had fallen in amongst armed troops. Hydarnes, apprehending that the Phoceans might prove to be Lacedæmonians, enquired of Ephialtes who they were. When he was informed, he drew up the Persians in order of battle. The Phoceans, not able to sustain the heavy flight of arrows, retreated  
up

up the mountain<sup>172</sup>, imagining themselves the objects of this attack, and expecting certain destruction: but the troops with Hydarnes and Ephialtes did not think it worth their while to pursue them, and descended rapidly the opposite side of the mountain.

CCXIX. To those Greeks stationed in the straits of Thermopylæ Megistias the soothsayer had previously, from inspection of the entrails, predicted that death awaited them in the morning. Some deserters<sup>173</sup> had also informed them of the circuit the Persians had taken; and this intelligence was in the course of the night circulated through the camp. All this was confirmed by their centinels, who early in the morning fled down the sides of the mountain. In this predicament, the Greeks called a council, who were greatly divided in their opinions: some were for remaining on their station, others advised a retreat. In consequence of their not

<sup>172</sup> *Up the mountain.*]—Mr. Glover has been very minute and faithful in his representation of the places where this noble scene was exhibited:

The Phœcian chief,  
Whatever the cause, relinquishing his post,  
Was to a neighbouring *eminence* remov'd,  
Though by the foe neglected or *contemn'd*. T.

<sup>173</sup> *Deserters.*]—Diodorus Siculus mentions but one: "There was in the army," says he, "one Tyrastades of Cyrne; as he was a man of honour and probity, he fled from the camp by night, and going to Leonidas and his party, discovered to them the designs of Ephialtes."—*Larcher*.

agreeing,

agreeing, many of them dispersed to their respective cities; a part resolved to continue with Leonidas.

CCXX. It is said, that those who retired only did so in compliance with the wishes of Leonidas, who was desirous to preserve them: but he thought that he himself, with his Spartans, could not without the greatest ignominy forsake the post they had come to defend. I am myself inclined to believe that Leonidas, seeing his allies not only reluctant, but totally averse to resist the danger which menaced them, consented to their retreat. His own return he considered as dishonourable, whilst he was convinced that his defending his post would equally secure his own fame, and the good of Sparta. In the very beginning of these disturbances the Spartans having consulted the oracle, were informed that either their king must die, or Sparta be vanquished by the Barbarians. The oracle was communicated in hexameter verses, and was to this effect:

- “ To you who dwell in Sparta’s ample walls,
- “ Behold, a dire alternative befalls;—
- “ Your glorious city must in ruins lie,
- “ Or slain by Persian arms, a king must die,
- “ A king descended from Herculean blood.
- “ For lo! he comes, and cannot be withstood;
- “ Nor bulls, nor lions, can dispute the field,
- “ ’Tis Jove’s own force, and this or that must yield.”

I am unwilling to presume of the allies that departed, that differing in opinion from their leader they dishonourably

dishonourably deserted. I should also suppose that the conduct of Leonidas was the result of his revolving the oracle<sup>174</sup> in his mind, and of his great desire to secure to the Spartans alone the glory of this memorable action.

CCXXI. To me it is no small testimony of the truth of the above, that amongst those whom Leonidas dismissed was Megistias himself. He was of Acarnania; and, as some affirm, descended from Melampus; he accompanied Leonidas on this expedition, and from the entrails had predicted what would happen: he refused however to leave his friends, and satisfied himself with sending away his only son, who had followed his father on this occasion.

CCXXII. Obedient to the direction of their leader, the confederates retired. The Thespians and Thebans<sup>175</sup> alone remained with the Spartans, the

<sup>174</sup> *The oracle.*]—Plutarch is very severe upon Herodotus for his manner of representing these circumstances; some of which he says our author has done falsely, others maliciously. This however does not seem to have been the case.

Glover makes Leonidas exclaim, on hearing that the enemy had circumvented them,

I now behold the oracle fulfill'd.—

Then art thou near, thou glorious sacred hour

Which shall my country's liberty secure?

Thrice hail, thou solemn period; thee the tongues

Of virtue, fame, and freedom, shall proclaim,

Shall celebrate in ages yet unborn!

G.

<sup>175</sup> *Thespians and Thebans.*]—Diodorus Siculus speaks only of

the Thebans indeed very reluctantly, but they were detained by Leonidas as hostages. The Thespians were very zealous in the cause, and refusing to abandon their friends, perished with them. The leader of the Thespians was Demophilus, son of Diadromas.

CCXXIII. Xerxes early in the morning offered a solemn libation, then waiting till that period of the day <sup>176</sup> when the forum is fullest of people, he advanced from his camp: to the above measure he had been advised by Ephialtes. The descent from the mountain is of much shorter extent than the circuitous ascent. The Barbarians with Xerxes approached; Leonidas and his Greeks proceeded as to inevitable death a much greater space from the defile than they had yet done. Till now they had defended themselves behind their entrenchment, fighting in the most contracted part of the passage; but on this day they engaged on a wider space, and a multitude of their opponents fell. Behind each troop officers were stationed with whips in their hands, compelling with blows their men to advance. Many of them fell into the sea, where they perished; many were trodden under foot by

of the Thespians. Pausanias says that the people of Mycene sent eighty men to Thermopylæ, who had part in this glorious day; and in another place he says, that all the allies retired before the battle, except the Thespians and people of Mycene.  
—Larcker.

<sup>176</sup> *That time of day.*]—I have before explained this circumstance with respect to the mode of computing time.

their own troops, without exciting the smallest pity or regard. The Greeks, conscious that their destruction was at hand from those who had taken the circuit of the mountain, exerted themselves with the most desperate valour against their Barbarian assailants.

CCXXIV. Their spears being broken in pieces, they had recourse to their swords<sup>177</sup>. Leonidas fell in the engagement, having greatly signalized himself; and with him many Spartans of distinction, as well as others of inferior note. I am acquainted with the names of all the three hundred. Many illustrious Persians also were slain, amongst whom were Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, sons of Darius, by Phrataguna, the daughter of Artanes. Artanes was the brother of Darius, the son of Hytaspes, and grandson of Arsamis. Having married his daughter to Darius, as she was an only child, all his wealth went with her.

CCXXV. These two brothers of Xerxes fell as they were contending for the body of Leonidas<sup>178</sup>: here the conflict was the most severe, till  
at

<sup>177</sup> *Their swords.*]—The soldiers of the Lacedæmonians wore red uniform; and Suidas says, that it was because the blood of those who were wounded would thus be less conspicuous.—7.

<sup>178</sup> *Body of Leonidas.*]—One of the noblest descriptions in Homer is that of the battle for the body of Patroclus; and we learn from various examples, that the ancients were remarkably tenacious on this head, deeming it the greatest baseness to forsake the dead bodies of their friends. Plutarch, in his parallels between the Romans and Greeks, thus describes the death of Leonidas:

at length the Greeks by their superior valour four times repelled the Persians, and drew aside the body of their prince. In this situation they continued till Ephialtes and his party approached. As soon as the Greeks perceived them at hand, the scene was changed, and they retreated to the narrowest part of the pass. Having repassed their intrenchment, they posted themselves, all except the Thebans, in a compact body, upon a hill, which is at the entrance of the straits, and where a lion of stone <sup>179</sup> has been erected in honour of Leonidas. In this situation, they who had swords left, used them against the enemy, the rest exerted themselves with their hands and their teeth <sup>180</sup>. The Barbarians rushing

“ Whilst they were at dinner, the Barbarians fell upon them ; upon which Leonidas desired them to eat heartily, for they were to sup with Pluto. Leonidas charged at the head of his troops, and after receiving a multitude of wounds, got up to Xerxes himself, and snatched the crown from his head. He lost his life in the attempt ; and Xerxes, causing his body to be opened, found his heart hairy. So says Aristides, in the first book of his Persian History.” This fiction seems to have been taken from the *λασιον κνηρ* of Homer.

<sup>179</sup> *Lion of stone.*]—Two epigrams on this subject may be found in the *Analec̃ta Veterum Poet. Græc.* v. i. 132. v. ii. 162. The bones of Leonidas were carried back to Sparta by Pausanias, forty years after his death ; they were placed in a monument opposite the theatre : every year they pronounced in this place a funeral oration, and celebrated games, at which Spartans only were suffered to contend.—*Larcher.*

<sup>180</sup> *Their teeth.*]—“ What are we to think of this hyperbole,” says Longinus ? “ What probability is there that men should defend themselves with their hands and teeth against armed troops ? This nevertheless is not incredible, for the thing does

running upon them, some in front, after overturning their wall, others surrounding and pressing them in all directions, finally overpowered them.

does not appear to be sought out for an hyperbole; but the hyperbole seems to arise from the subject."

This circumstance which appeared hyperbolical to Longinus does not to me; this mode of fighting was common amongst the Lacedæmonians; when they had no arms, they availed themselves of their nails and teeth: Cicero had been a witness of this.—See the *Tusculan Questions*, book fifth, chapter 27th.

Diodorus Siculus relates the battle of Thermopylæ somewhat differently; he tells us that Leonidas, when he knew that he was circumvented, made a bold attempt by night to penetrate to the tent of Xerxes; but this the Persian king had forsaken on the first alarm. The Greeks however proceeded in search of him from one side to the other, and slew a prodigious multitude. When morning approached, the Persians perceiving the Greeks so few in number, held them in contempt; but they still did not dare to attack them in front; encompassing them on both sides, and behind, they slew them all with their spears. Such was the end of Leonidas and his party.

Mr. Glover, in his English Poem of Leonidas, has followed the account of Diodorus; he differs however from both historians, in making the king of Sparta fall the last; his description is sufficiently animated to be inserted in this place:

The Spartan king

Now stands alone. In heaps his slaughter'd friends  
All stretch'd around him lie. The distant foes  
Show'r on his head innumerable darts;  
From various sluices gush the vital floods;  
They stain his fainting limbs; nor yet with pain  
His brow is clouded; but those beauteous wounds,  
The sacred pledges of his own renown,  
And Sparta's safety, in sereneest joy  
His closing eye contemplates. Fame can twine  
No brighter laurels round his glorious head;  
His virtue more to labour fate forbids,  
And lays him now in honourable rest,  
To seal his country's liberty by death.



CCXXVI. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians and Thespians; but none of them all distinguished themselves so much as ~~Diocles~~ the Spartan. A speech of his is recorded, which he made before they came to any engagement. A certain Trachinian having observed, that the Barbarians would send forth such a shower of arrows that their multitude would obscure the sun; he replied, like a man ignorant of fear, and despising the numbers of the Medes, "our Trachinian friend  
 "promises us great advantages; if the Medes ob-  
 "scure the sun's light, we shall fight with them in  
 "the shade, and be protected from the heat." Many other sayings have been handed down as monuments of this man's fame.

CCXXVII. Next to him, the most distinguished of the Spartans were, Alpheus and Maron, two brothers, the sons of Orsiphantus; of the Thespians, the most conspicuous was Dithyrambus, son of Harmatidas.

CCXXVIII. All these were interred in the place where they fell, together with such of the confederates as were slain before the separation of the forces by Leonidas. Upon their tomb was this inscription:

"Here once, from Pelops' seagirt region brought,  
 "Four thousand men three hostile millions fought."

This was applied to them all collectively. The Spartans were thus distinguished:

"Go, stranger, and to list'ning Spartans tell,  
That here, obedient to their laws, we fell."

There was one also appropriated to the prophet  
Megistias :

"By Medes cut off beside Sperchius' wave,  
The seer Megistias fills this glorious grave :  
Who stood the fate he well foresaw to meet,  
And link'd with Sparta's leaders, scorn'd retreat."

All these ornaments and inscriptions, that of Megistias alone excepted, were here placed by the Amphictyons. Simonides son of Leoprepis<sup>181</sup>, inscribed the one to the honour of Megistias, from the ties of private hospitality,

CCXXIX. Of these three hundred, there were two named Eurytus and Aristodemus; both of them, consistently with the discipline of their country, might have secured themselves by retiring to Sparta, for Leonidas had permitted them to leave the camp; but they continued at Alpenus, being both afflicted by a violent disorder of the eyes: or, if they had not thought proper to return home, they had the alternative of meeting death in the field with their fellow-soldiers. In this situation, they differed in opinion what conduct to pursue. Eurytus having heard of the circuit made by the Persians, called for his arms, and putting them on,

<sup>181</sup> Simonides son of Leoprepis.]—See note to book v. c. 102. The Simonides here mentioned composed several works, the titles of which may be seen in the Bibliotheca Græca of Patricius, v. i. p. 565.

commanded his helot to conduct him to the battle. The slave did so, and immediately fled, while his master died fighting valiantly. Aristodemus pval-  
lanimously staid where he was. If either Aristodemus, being individually diseased, had retired home, or if they had returned together; I cannot think that the Spartans could have shewn any resentment against them; but as one of them died in the field, which the other, who was precisely in the same circumstances, refused to do, it was impossible not to be greatly incensed against Aristodemus.

CCXXX. The safe return of Aristodemus to Sparta is by some thus related and explained. There are others who assert, that he was dispatched on some business from the army, and might, if he had pleased, have been present at the battle, but that he saved himself by lingering on the way. They add, that his companion, employed on the same business, returned to the battle, and there fell.

CCXXXI. Aristodemus, on his return, was branded with disgrace and infamy; no one would speak with him; no one would supply him with fire; and the opprobrious term of trembler \* was annexed to

\* *Trembler.*]—He who trembled, ὁ τρεῖσας; it might be rendered *quaker*: this seems to have been an established term of opprobrium in Sparta; Tyrtæus says, ἀπισσάντων δυνάμειν πᾶσ' ἀπολωλ' ἀγέλη—“the tremblers are devoid of all virtue.” See Brunck's Anal. vol. i. p. 49.—T.

his name; but he afterwards at the battle of Platea effectually atoned for his former conduct.

CCXXXII. It is also said that another of the three hundred survived; his name was Pantites, and he had been sent on some business to Theffaly. Returning to Sparta, he felt himself in disgrace, and put an end to his life.

CCXXXIII. The Thebans, under the command of Leontiades, hitherto constrained by force, had fought with the Greeks against the Persians; but as soon as they saw that the Persians were victorious, when Leonidas and his party retired to the hill, they separated themselves from the Greeks. In the attitude of suppliants they approached the Barbarians, assuring them what was really the truth, that they were attached to the Medes; that they had been amongst the first to render earth and water; that they had only come to Thermopylæ on compulsion, and could not be considered as accessory to the slaughter of the king's troops. The Theffalians confirming the truth of what they had asserted, their lives were preserved. Some of them however were slain; for as they approached, the Barbarians put several to the sword; but the greater part, by the order of Xerxes, had the royal marks impressed upon them, beginning with Leontiades himself. Eurymachus his son was afterwards slain at the head of four hundred Thebans, by the people of Platea, while he was making an attempt upon their city.

CCXXXIV. In this manner the Greeks fought at Thermopylæ. Xerxes afterwards sent for Demaratus, and thus addressed him: "I have already," "Demaratus, had experience of your truth and integrity,

*“The Greeks fought.”*—Plutarch censures Herodotus for omitting many memorable things relating to Leonidas. Some of those specified by Plutarch I have already introduced in my notes, others were as follows: When the wife of Leonidas took leave of him, she asked him what commands he had for her? "Marry," said he, in reply, "a good man, and bring him good children."—Being desirous to save two of his relations, who were with him at Thermopylæ, he pretended to give them messages to the senate of Sparta: "I followed you," says one of them, "to fight, not as a messenger." "What you enjoin," says the other, "is the business of a messenger;" he then took up his shield and placed himself in his rank.

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I cannot in a more proper place than this, make a few miscellaneous remarks upon the institutions of Lycurgus, and the manners of the Spartans; not that I entertain any hope of throwing new light on a subject which has been amply investigated by the learned; but I may perhaps be able to make a few things familiar to my English readers, which were obscure or unknown to them before. The Spartans are renowned in the volumes of antiquity for one virtue above all others: I speak of their fortitude, which they carried to an amazing and almost incredible perfection, a virtue, which if we canvass and examine it to the extent in which it was practised by this extraordinary people, will seem almost peculiar to themselves.

It was the aim of Lycurgus to settle and root in the minds of the Spartans this principle, that the preference was always to be given to virtue, which constituted the only real difference or inequality between one man and another. And he succeeded almost to a miracle. He persuaded them to renounce all other means of happiness usually but falsely so called, to make

virtue

“ integrity, every thing has happened as you foretold;  
 “ tell me then, how many of the Lacedæmonians  
 “ may there be left, how many of like valour with  
 “ those who have perished, or are they all alike?”

“ Sir,”

virtue their chief and only object, and to put themselves, their desires, and their hopes to this single test. He prevailed on the rich and noble to give up their ample possessions, to throw all they had into a common fund, and to reduce themselves to a level with their neighbours. And these men, instead of the soft and tender blandishments of plenty, the sweets of luxury, and the pride of life, to which they had been accustomed, were contented to submit to the austerities of a severe and painful discipline; to sit down to a coarse mess of black Spartan broth; to make no appearance, to expect no treatment abroad better than others. This astonishing reformation was confirmed and secured by two expedients; the one which obliged every person to dine constantly in public with his own tribe, on the dinner which was provided for them at the expence of the state; the other, which forbade the use of any other than iron money: by these salutary injunctions, every opportunity of indulging in luxury was cut off, as well as the means of providing for it. They rendered money altogether useless among them, so that Plutarch informs us, it was a common saying in other countries, “ that at Sparta, and there alone, of all the cities in the world, Plutus the god of riches was blind; a mere picture or statue without life or motion.” I would here remark, that this is one note of difference which Polybius assigns against those who likened the Cretan polity to the Spartan, see book sixth. Plato also, when he reckons riches the fourth ordinary blessing to a state, certainly could not esteem this disregard of money which prevailed in Sparta as a mark of extraordinary virtue; but ordinances so self-denying, so opposite to the suggestions of sense, and the ordinary practice of mankind, would not have been received on the authority of Lycurgus, if they had not been favored by a character of mind peculiar to this people. It was the natural and constitutional bravery of the Spartans  
 which

“ Sir,” replied Demaratus, “ the Lacedæmonians  
 “ are a numerous people, and possessed of many  
 “ cities; but I will answer your question more  
 “ particularly. Sparta itself contains eight thou-  
 “ sand

which inclined them to admit and obey such a plan and form of government.

Precept and authority alone would not have done it, for the passions of men are neither to be reasoned nor terrified from their own bent and tendency: it is therefore but rendering justice to this gallant people to confess, that their bravery of mind was founded in inclination and principle. Cicero observes, that the Spartans (and the same could not be said of any other people in the world) had retained their primitive manners, without changing their laws, for more than seven hundred years. — See *Orat. pro L. Flacco*. Lacedæmonii soli, toto orbe terrarum, septingentos annos et amplius suis moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus, vixerunt. — See also *Livy*, book xxx. c. 34.

Plutarch says, only five hundred years, until the time of Agis, son of Archidamus, in which period fourteen kings had reigned. See his *Life of Lycurgus*. The conquests of Lyfander in Asia, by filling Lacedæmon with money, introduced luxury, and vitiated their morals; several examples of which are produced by Xenophon. The women of Sparta seem little less entitled to admiration; strangers to the natural weakness and softness of their sex, they were actuated by the same gallant spirit as the men. They submitted to a like discipline, and endured similar hardships. Instead of studying the accomplishments which usually distinguish a female education, they accustomed themselves to manly exercises; to running, wrestling, throwing the dart or quoit; having the emulation to contend with men at their own arts, and to bear them company in the same paths of glory.

I cannot help presuming, with respect to the dames as well as the men of Sparta, that it must have been something innate, something beyond the power of education, custom, or example, which constitutes the wonderful difference we discern

“And men, all of whom are equal in valour to  
 “those who fought here; the other Lacedæmo-  
 “nians, though inferior to these, are still brave.”  
 “Tell me then,” returned Xerxes, “how we may  
 “subdue

in them, compared with all other women. Can it then be a matter of wonder, that the Spartan females claimed extraordinary privileges at home, and more extensive power in the government of their families? Lycurgus disliked that excessive authority which the women had usurped, and attempted it seems, to reform it, and to restore to the husband the usual and proper authority in his own house; but in vain: a convincing argument, that if the women had not of themselves been inclined to his laws of female education, they would have paid them neither attention nor obedience. War then, and conquest, with the endurance of fatigue, were the principle objects which the Spartans had in view. Learning and the study of letters, of arts and sciences, to which their neighbours the Athenians were devoted, were in no repute among them. Hence it has been observed, that the former made the better figure in war, the latter in peace.—See Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 6. *Egregios virtutis bellicæ spiritus Lacedæmoniorum, prudentissimi pacis moribus Athenienses subsequuntur.*

And this was unquestionably true, since we are assured, that although the most rigorous care was taken to keep their youth constantly to their exercises, their men of mature years were permitted to live just as they pleased; they followed no employment, they disdained industry and honest labour, and were indeed forbidden to pursue any art which was accounted illiberal; even husbandry, and the management and culture of their lands, the most rational and most public-spirited study that can be pursued, they left entirely to their slaves. The old men of Sparta spent the whole of their time in frequenting the schools and apartments of the youth, as at Athens they did at the public place of resort, to hear or to tell some new thing. The former indeed could mispend their time in this manner with more grace, and might plead the authority of Lycurgus in their



“ subdue these men with least trouble? you who  
 “ have been their prince, must know what mea-  
 “ sures they are likely to pursue.”

their vindication, whose polity and scheme of government aimed at maintaining an equality among the people, by restraining them from trade, and the arts of growing rich. The design of Solon was entirely the reverse; he strove to animate the Athenians with a spirit of industry; he enacted a law against idleness, requiring every person to have a calling and profession, and the philosopher who had none fell under the statute. Cleantes and Menedemus were indicted and called before the Areopagus on this account. The statute which restrained the study of rhetoric at Rome assigned this reason: “ Ibi homines adolescentulos totos dies desiderare;” for the same reason philosophers were banished, amongst whom was Epictetus in the reign of Domitian.—See *Aulus Gellius*, l. xv. c. 11.

I have little to say on the religion of the Spartans. The object of their worship seems to have been diversified by them as well as by the Athenians, according to the system of politics which their respective law-givers established. Solon, intent upon promoting commerce and gainful arts, presented the GREAT GODDESS to the Athenians, holding in her right hand the weaver's beam, and he surnamed her from the Ægyptians, Athene and Minerva, styling her the goddess of arts and sciences. Lycurgus, training up the Spartans to the discipline of war, clothed the same goddess in armour, called her Pallas and the Goddess of Battle (παμμαχος η χαλκιοικος θεα). Aristoph. *Lyfist.* ad finem. She was styled Chalceus, either because her temple was of brass, or because it was built by fugitives from Chalcis in Eubœa. The brothers also, Castor and Pollux, were for similar reasons enrolled in the Fasti of the Spartans; and I presume, if the Pagan Theology be capable of being reduced to any fixed and settled rules, it will be best explained and accounted for by supposing the religion of every different nation or people to be a mixture of worship, and physics, and politics, and that their idols were representations of natural causes, named and habited according to the different tempers and genius of those who set them up.—T.

CCXXXV. "Since, Sir," answered Demaratus,  
 "you place a confidence in my opinion, it is pro-  
 "per that I should speak to you from the best of  
 "my judgment: I would therefore recommend you  
 "to send a fleet of three hundred vessels to the coast  
 "of Lacedæmonia. Contiguous to this is an island  
 "named Cythera, of which Chilon, the wisest of  
 "our countrymen, observed, that it would be better  
 "for the Spartans if it were buried in the sea;  
 "foreseeing the probability of such a measure as  
 "I now recommend. From this island your  
 "troops may spread terror over Sparta. Thus, a  
 "war so very near them, may remove from you  
 "any apprehension of their assisting the rest of  
 "Greece, which will then be open to your arms,  
 "and which, if subdued, will leave Sparta hardly  
 "able to oppose you. If my advice be disre-  
 "garded, you may expect what follows. There  
 "is a narrow isthmus in the Peloponnese, in which  
 "all its people will assemble in resistance to your  
 "arms, and where you will have far more violent  
 "contests to sustain than you have here experienced.  
 "If you execute what I propose, you may without  
 "a battle become master of the isthmus, with all  
 "the cities of Peloponnesus."

CCXXXVI. Achæmenes the brother of Xerxes,  
 and commander of the fleet, was present at this  
 interview. Fearful that the king might do as he  
 had been advised, he thus delivered his sentiments:  
 "You seem, Sir," said he, "too much inclined  
 "to listen to a man, who either envies your prof-  
 "perity!

“perity, or wishes to betray you. It is the cha-  
 “racter of Greeks to envy the successful, and to  
 “hate their superiors. We have already lost by  
 “shipwreck four hundred vessels; if we detach  
 “three hundred more to the Peloponnese, the force  
 “of our opponents will be equal to our own; our  
 “united fleet will be far superior to theirs, and  
 “with respect to any efforts they can make, invin-  
 “cible. If your forces by land, and your fleet by  
 “sea advance at the same time, they will be able  
 “mutually to assist each other; if you separate  
 “them, the fleet will not be able to assist you, nor  
 “you the fleet. It becomes you to deliberate well  
 “on your own affairs, and not to concern yourself  
 “about those of your enemies, nor to enquire where  
 “they will commence their hostilities, what mea-  
 “sures they will take, or how numerous they are.  
 “Let them attend to their affairs, we to ours. If  
 “the Lacedæmonians shall presume to attack the  
 “Persians, they will be far from repairing the loss  
 “they have already sustained.”

CCXXXVII. “Achæmenes,” answered Xerxes,  
 “I approve your counsel, and will follow it. The  
 “sentiments of Demaratus are, I well know, dicta-  
 “ted by his regard to my interests; but your ad-  
 “vice to me seems preferable. I cannot be per-  
 “suaded that he has any improper intentions,  
 “events having proved the wisdom of his former  
 “counsels. One man frequently envies the prof-  
 “perity of another; and indulges in secret senti-  
 “ments of hatred against him, neither will he,  
 “when

“ when he requires it, give him salutary advice,  
“ unless indeed from some surprising effort of vir-  
“ tue; but a friend exults in a friend's happiness;  
“ has no sentiments for him but those of the truest  
“ kindness, and gives him always the best advice.  
“ Let no one therefore in future use any invective  
“ against Demaratus, who is my friend.”

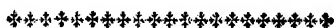
CCXXXVIII. When Xerxes had finished, he went to view the dead, amongst whom was Leonidas. When he heard that he had been the prince and leader of Sparta, he ordered his head to be cut off, and his body to be suspended on a cross. This incident is no small proof to me, amongst many others, that Xerxes indulged the warmest indignation against Leonidas whilst he was alive. He otherwise would not have treated him when dead with such barbarity. I know that the Persians, of all mankind, most highly honour military virtue. The orders however of the king were executed.

CCXXXIX. I shall now return to the thread of our history. The Spartans were the first who were acquainted with the king's designs against Greece; they sent to the oracle on the occasion, and received the answer I have related. The intelligence was communicated to them in an extraordinary manner. Demaratus, the son of Ariston, had taken refuge amongst the Medes, and as there is every reason to suppose, was not friendly to the Spartans. He however it was who informed them of what was meditated, whether to serve or insult them must be

be left to conjecture. When Xerxes had resolved on this expedition against Greece, Demaratus, who was at Susa, and acquainted with his intentions, determined to inform the Lacedæmonians. As this was both difficult and dangerous, he employed the following means: he took two tablets, and erased the wax from each; then inscribed the purpose of the king upon the wood. This done, he replaced the wax, that the several guards on the road, from seeing the empty tablets, might have no suspicion of the business. When these were delivered at Lacedæmon, the people had no conception of their meaning, till, as I have been informed, Gorgo the daughter of Cleomenes and wife of Leonidas removed the difficulty. Imagining what might be intended, she ordered the wax to be removed, and thus made the contents of the tablets known. The Lacedæmonians, after examining what was inscribed on the wood, circulated the intelligence through Greece.



# HERODOTUS.



## B O O K VIII.

### U R A N I A.

#### C H A P. I.



HAVE before described the events which are said to have happened. The Greeks who composed the naval armament were these: The Athenians<sup>\*</sup> furnished one hundred and twenty-seven vessels, part of which were manned by Plateans, who, though ignorant of sea affairs, were prompted by zeal and courage; the Corinthians brought forty ships, the Megarians twenty; the Chalcidians equipped twenty ships, which the Athenians supplied; the Æginetæ eighteen, the Sicyonians twelve, and the Lacedæmonians ten; the

<sup>\*</sup> *Athenians.*]—Diodorus Siculus makes the number of Athenian vessels on this occasion two hundred.

Epidaurians brought eight, the Eretrians seven, the Trœzenians five, the Styreans two, the people of Ceos two, and two barks of fifty-oars; the Opuntian Locrians assisted the confederates with seven vessels of fifty-oars.

II. These were stationed at Artemisium; and such were the numbers which each nation supplied. Without taking into the account the vessels of fifty-oars, the whole amounted to two hundred and seventy-one. Of these the commander in chief appointed by the Spartans was Eurybiades, the son of Euryclidas. The allies refused to serve under the Athenians, and had resolved, unless they had a Spartan leader, to disperse.

III. At first, and before any deputation had been sent to Sicily requiring assistance, it had been debated whether it would not be expedient to entrust the conduct of the naval forces to the Athenians; but as this was opposed by the allies, the Athenians did not insist upon it<sup>2</sup>. Their principal concern was the welfare of Greece, and as they were sensible that this would be endangered by any contention, they very wisely withdrew their claims: as

<sup>2</sup> *Did not insist upon it.*]—Mr. Glover, in his Poem of the Athenaid, puts this sentiment into the mouth of Themistocles:

Wisely did we cede  
To Spartan Eurybiades command;  
The different squadrons to their native ports  
Had else deserted, &c.

much

much as war itself is more destructive than peace, so much more dangerous are intestine commotions, than a war conducted with consistency and union; persuaded of this they did not dispute the matter whilst circumstances justified and required their forbearance. Afterwards, when having repelled the Persian, they were contending for what belonged to him, they made the insolence of Pausanias a pretence for depriving the Lacedæmonians of the command. These, however, were things which happened afterwards.

IV. When the Greeks assembled at Artemisium saw the number of ships which were collected at Aphetæ, and every place crowded with troops, they were struck with terror; and as the attempts of the Barbarians had succeeded so much beyond their expectations, they consulted about retreating to the interior parts of Greece<sup>3</sup>. When this idea had been generally circulated, the Eubæans entreated Eurybiades to give them time to remove their children and their slaves. Unsuccessful in this application, they went to Themistocles the Athenian leader, whom they engaged, on the considera-

<sup>3</sup> *Parts of Greece.*]—Plutarch is very severe upon Herodotus for making this assertion. Pindar, says he, who was a native of a city supposed to be attached to the Medes, mentions the behaviour of the Athenians at Artemisium with the highest encomiums. So perhaps he might, but what does this prove; certainly not that the Greeks did not stay and fight against their will, though when they actually were engaged, they behaved with extraordinary valour.—*T.*



tion of thirty talents, to continue at Eubœa, and risk the event of a battle.

V. This was effected by Themistocles in the following manner: He presented Eurybiades with five talents, as if from himself; having gained him, he had only to prevail on Adimantus the Corinthian<sup>+</sup>, the son of Ocytus, who was obstinate in his determination to sail from Artemisium. After using the solemnity of an oath, "If you," said he, "will not desert, I promise to give you a greater present than the king of the Medes would have done for leaving us." He instantly sent to his vessel three talents of silver. By these gifts he gained the commanders to his purpose, and satisfied the Eubœans. Themistocles rewarded himself by keeping the remainder, whilst they who had accepted of his presents supposed the money had been sent him from Athens for this purpose.

VI. They continued therefore at Eubœa, and came to a battle. The Barbarians arriving at break of day at Aphetæ, had before heard that the Greeks at Artemisium were very few in number.

\* *Adimantus the Corinthian.*]—This Adimantus in the event behaved timidly. He was a Corinthian, and leader of the Corinthians; he must not therefore be confounded with the Athenian Adimantus, who greatly distinguished himself against the Persians, and who, probably, is the same person who was archon in the fourth year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad. An epitaph by Simonides was inscribed on his tomb, intimating, that by his councils Greece became free.—*Larcher.*

On their seeing this they were eager to engage, in expectation of taking them; they did not, however, think it expedient to advance directly to the attack, lest the Greeks perceiving them should escape under cover of the night. The Persians had already boasted that not even the torch-bearer<sup>5</sup> should escape them.

<sup>5</sup> *Torch bearer.*]—Before trumpets were used in armies, the signal for battle was given by a torch. Those who carried it were sacred to Mars; they advanced at the head of armies, and in the interval betwixt them they dropt their torch, and retired without molestation. The armies engaged, and even if a whole army was destroyed, they spared the life of the torch-bearer, because he was sacred to Mars: thence came a proverb applicable to total defeats, “Not even the torch-bearer has escaped.” Herodotus is the first author where we meet with this expression, which afterwards became so familiar that it passed into a proverb.—*Larcher.*

It is probable, that in the time of Homer no signals for battle were in use, as we find no mention of any throughout his works: in both *Iliad* and *Odyssy* we find torches placed on the tops of hills to give intelligence of certain events. Modern signals for battle are, by land, drums and trumpets; by sea they are more various, and are sometimes given by cannon, lights, sails, and colours. The Romans, in addition to the shout with which all nations have been described as commencing an engagement, violently clasped their arms together. Milton makes a happy use of this idea.

He spake, and to confirm his words outflaw  
Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thigh  
Of mighty cherubim. The sudden blaze  
Far round illumin'd hell; highly they raged  
Against the highest, and fierce with grasped arms,  
Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,  
Hurling defiance toward the vault of heaven.—*T.*

VII. With this idea they pursued the following measures: two hundred chosen vessels, were detached beyond Sciathus, least in passing round Eubœa they might be discovered by the enemy off Capharea and Geræstus, near the Euripus, meaning thus to enclose them, and commence an attack at the same time in the rear and in front. With this design the appointed Squadron set sail; it was not their intention to attack the Greeks on this day, nor till a signal should be given by the detachment with which they were to act in concert. On the departure of the former, an account was taken of the number of those which continued at Aphetæ.

VIII. Whilst the Persians were thus employed, they happened to have with them Scyllias<sup>6</sup> of Scios,

<sup>6</sup> *Scyllias.*]—The name of this skilful diver is differently written. In an epigram of Apellonides it is Scyllos, in Pliny and Pausanias it is Scillis. Scyllias had taught his daughter Cyane the art of diving; during the tempest, which surprized the Persians near mount Pelion, they plunged together under the water, and removed the anchors which held the vessels of Xerxes, which occasioned considerable injury. By order of the Amphictyons, statues were erected to the father and daughter in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The statue of Cyane was amongst those which by the command of Nero were transported to Rome.—*Larcher.*

Brydone, in his entertaining tour through Sicily and Malta, informs us, that the Sicilian authors make mention of one Colas, who, from his extraordinary skill in diving, was named Pesce or the fish. It was said of him, that without coming at all to land, he could live for several days in the water; that he caught fish merely by his agility in the water, and that he could even walk across the straits at the bottom of the sea. One of  
their

Scios, the most skilful diver of his time, who in the shipwreck off Pelion had preserved to the Persians an immense quantity of treasure, and at the same time considerably enriched himself. This man had long intended to desert to the Greeks, but he had never before had the opportunity; he on this day effected his purpose; it is uncertain in what manner but if what is related of him be true, it is really astonishing. It is said, that having leaped into the sea at Aphêtæ, he did not rise again till he came to Artemisium, having gone a space of eighty stadia through the water. Other things are related of this man, some of which appear to be fabulous, whilst others are actually true. For my own part, I am inclined to the opinion that he escaped to Artemisium in a little vessel; on his arrival, he informed the commanders of the shipwreck<sup>7</sup>, and of the ships which had been sent round Eubœa.

IX. Upon this the Greeks called a council: various opinions were delivered, but it was ultimately determined to remain that day on their station, but to depart soon after midnight to meet that part of the enemy's fleet which had been sent round Eubœa. As they perceived no one advancing against them, as soon as the twilight appeared, they

their kings had the cruelty to propose his diving near the gulph of Charœdis, and to tempt him threw in a golden cup. In a third attempt to gain this, it is supposed he was caught by the whirlpool, for he appeared no more.—*T.*

<sup>7</sup> *Shipwreck.*]—See book vii. chap. 188.

proceeded towards the Barbarians, determining to make experiment of their skill in fighting and manœuvring.

X. The commanders and forces of Xerxes seeing them approach in so small a body, conceived them to be actuated by extreme infatuation<sup>s</sup>, and drawing out their vessels expected to find them an easy conquest. In this they were not unreasonable, for their fleet was superior to the Greeks, not only in number but swiftness; in contempt therefore they surrounded them. There were some of the Ionians who wished well to the Greeks, and served against them with the greatest reluctance; seeing them thus encircled, they were affected with much uneasiness concerning them, not supposing that any could escape, so insignificant did they appear. There were other Ionians, to whom the seeming distress of the Greeks gave great pleasure; these contended

<sup>s</sup> *Extreme infatuation.*]—With the same contempt the French are represented to have considered the English army before the battle of Agincourt. This is expressed with the greatest possible animation by Shakespeare, in his *Life of Henry the Fifth*.

His numbers are so few,  
His soldiers sick and famish'd in their march;  
And I am sure, when he shall see our army,  
He'll drop his heart into the sink of fear,  
And for atchievement, offer us his ransom.

To the Persians, as well as to the French, the noble answer of Henry to the French herald was happily applicable.

The man that once did sell the lion's skin  
While the beast liv'd, was kill'd with hunting him.

with

with all exertion who should take the first Athenian vessel, in hopes of a reward from the king. For amongst the Barbarians greater reputation<sup>9</sup> was allowed to the Athenians than to any other of the allies.

**XI.** The Greeks, as soon as the signal was given, turned their prows towards the Barbarians, collecting their sterns into one common centre. On a second signal, though compressed within a narrow space, they attacked the enemy in front. They soon took thirty of the Barbarian vessels, amongst whom was Philaon, son of Cherfis, and brother of Gorgus, prince of Salamis, a man very highly esteemed in the army. The first enemy's ship was taken by an Athenian; his name was Lycomedes, the son of Æschreas, and he obtained the fame he merited. Victory alternately inclined to both parties, when they were separated by the night: the Greeks returned to Artemisium, the Barbarians to Aphetæ, the issue of the contest being very different from what they had expected. Of those Greeks who were in the service of the king, Antidorus the Lemnian was the only one who went<sup>9</sup> over to his countrymen.

<sup>9</sup> *Greater reputation.*]—Notwithstanding what is here asserted in favour of the Athenians, their own historian remarks, that from the best conjectures he was able to form, his countrymen had done nothing worthy of being recorded, either at home or abroad, from the Trojan to the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. *Thucydides*, l. i. As I have thrown together at the end of the preceding book some remarks on the Spartan policy and manners, the reader at the conclusion of this will find some relative to those of Athens.—T.

The Athenians, in consideration of his conduct, assigned him some lands in Salamis.

XII. The above engagement took place in the middle of the summer. When night approached, there fell a heavy storm of rain attended with continued thunder from mount Pelion. The bodies of the dead, and the wrecks of the vessels floating to Aphetæ, were so involved amongst the prows of the ships, that the oars were hardly manageable; the forces on board were seized with a violent panic, expecting that they were certainly doomed to perish<sup>10</sup>. They had hardly recovered themselves from the effect of the first storm and shipwreck off Pelion, when that severe battle at sea had succeeded. As soon as this last terminated, they had now been attacked again by violent rains, a tempestuous sea, and continued thunder.

XIII. This night, however, proved still more severe to those whose business it was to make a cir-

<sup>10</sup> *Expecting every moment to perish.*]—An example of terror very much like this, occurs in 1 Samuel, xiv. xv. Though it must be acknowledged, that the confusion into which the camp of the Philistines was thrown, is expressly attributed to a divine cause and was attended with an earthquake.

“And there was trembling in the host, in the field and among the people; the garrison and the spoilers they also trembled, and the earth quaked; so it was a very great trembling.

“And the watchmen of Saul in Gibeah looked, and behold the multitude melted away, and they went on beating down one another.”—7.

cuit round Eubœa. The storm fell upon them with the greater violence, as they were remote from land, and they perished in a miserable manner<sup>11</sup>. It commenced when they were standing towards the sands of Eubœa; ignorant of their course they were driven before the wind, and dashed against the rocks. It seemed a divine interposition, that the Persian fleet should thus be rendered equal, or at least not much superior to that of the Greeks; in this manner they were destroyed on the Eubœan sands.

XIV. The Barbarians at Aphetæ saw with joy the morning advance, and remained inactive, thinking it of no small moment, after their past calamities, to enjoy the present interval of tranquillity. At this juncture the Greeks were reinforced by fifty-

<sup>11</sup> *Miserable manner.*]—Το τέλος σφι εγενετο αχαρι.—Longinus, section xliii. p. 160, Pearce's edition, censures this expression of αχαρι, as mean and feeble. Pearce does not vindicate our author, neither does Toup; Larcher does, and with considerable effect. Boileau, he says, has rendered the word αχαρι, *peu agreable*; if this were admitted, the censure of Longinus would be reasonable enough; but in fact αχαρι is a very strong term, and signifies something in the highest degree shocking. Herodotus has applied συμφορη αχαρις, to the murder of a brother, book i. 42; and again to the murder of a son, vii. 190. Antoninus Liberalis calls the crime of incest between a father and his daughter, αχαρι η αθεσμον εγον, an action horrible and offensive to all laws. A similar mode of speaking was in use amongst the Romans; every one knows that Virgil applied the word *illaudatus* to Busris; and Horace calls Pythagoras, *Non fordidus auctor naturæ verique*.



three Athenian ships: animated by the arrival of their friends, they had still farther reason to exult in the fate of those Barbarians who had been ordered round Eubœa, not one of whom escaped the violence of the storm. The Greeks taking the opportunity of the same hour, towards the evening advanced boldly against the Cilicians; these they totally defeated, and at night returned again to Artemisium.

XV. On the third day the leaders of the Barbarians did not wait for the Greeks to commence the attack; they advanced about mid-day, mutually encouraging each other; they could not bear to be insulted by so inferior a number, and they feared the indignation of Xerxes. It happened that these engagements by sea took place precisely at the same periods as the conflicts at Thermopylæ. The object of the sea fights was the Euripus, as that of the battles by land was the passage of Thermopylæ. The Greeks animated each other to prevent the entrance of the Barbarians into Greece; the Barbarians in like manner were emulous to disperse the Greeks, and become masters of these passages.

XVI. Whilst the forces of Xerxes advanced in order of battle, the Greeks remained on their station at Artemisium; the Barbarians, as if to render themselves secure of them all, enclosed them in a semicircle. The Greeks met them, and a battle ensued, which was fought on both sides on equal terms. The fleet of Xerxes, from the size and  
number

number of its vessels, was much perplexed by their falling foul of each other; they fought however with firmness, and refused to give way, for they could not bear to be put to flight by so inferior a force. In the conflict many Grecian vessels perished, with a great number of men; but the loss of the Barbarians was much greater in both: they separated as by mutual consent.

XVII. Of all those in the fleet of Xerxes, the Egyptians performed the most important service; they distinguished themselves throughout, and took five Grecian vessels with all their men. Of the confederates, the Athenians were most conspicuous, and of these the bravest was Clinias, son of Alcibiades<sup>12</sup>. His ship, which carried two hundred men, was equipped and manned at his own expence.

XVIII. The two fleets eagerly retired to their respective stations. The Greeks retained the wrecks of their vessels which were damaged, and possessed the bodies of their dead; but as they had suffered severely, and particularly the Athenians, the half of whose vessels were disabled, they deliberated about retiring to the remoter parts of Greece.

<sup>12</sup> *Clinias, son of Alcibiades.*] Upon this personage Valcnaer has a very elaborate and learned note, but I do not see that it contains any thing particularly claiming the attention of the English reader, except that he was the father of the famous Alcibiades, afterwards so celebrated in Greece.—T.

XIX. Themistocles had constantly believed, that if he could detach from the Barbarians the Ionians and Carians<sup>13</sup>, there would be no difficulty in overpowering the rest. Whilst the Eubœans were assembling their cattle on the sea-coast, he called the chiefs together, and informed them he had conceived a method, which he believed would deprive the king of the best of his allies. At this juncture he explained himself no farther, adding only his advice, that they should kill as much of the cattle of the Eubœans as they possibly could; for it was much better that their troops should enjoy them than those of the enemy. He recommended them to order their respective people to kindle a fire, and told them that he would be careful to select a proper opportunity for their departure to Greece. His advice was approved, the fires were kindled, and the cattle slain.

<sup>13</sup> *Carians.*]—Originally these people inhabited the islands lying near their own coast, and so much only of the Ægean sea as was called the Icarian, of which Icarus, the *island of Caria*, was the principal island; they were then named Leleges and Pelasgi.—*See Strabo*, l. xii. 661.—572. Afterwards, removing to the continent, they seized upon a large tract of the sea-coast, as well as of the inland country: “This,” says Strabo, “was the opinion most generally allowed.” Homer applies to the Carians the epithet of βαρβαροφωνων.—Strabo supposes them to have been so called, from ὡς παχὺς ἑλληνίζοντες, and that at first a person was called barbarous, whose speech was thick and coarse, παχυσομος, though afterwards the word was extended to a more general sense.—Tibullus calls the Latin Turnus barbarous, l. ii. el. 5.

Jam tibi prædico, barbære Turne, necem.

T.

XX.

XX. The Eubœans, paying no manner of regard to the oracle of Bacis, had neither removed any of their effects, nor prepared any provision, which it certainly became those to do who were menaced by a war: their neglect had rendered their affairs extremely critical. The oracle of Bacis<sup>14</sup> was to this effect:

“When barb’rous hosts with Byblus yoke the main,  
“Then drive your cattle from Eubœa’s plain.

As they made no use of this declaration, either in their present evils or to guard against the future, they might naturally expect the worst.

XXI. At this period there arrived a spy from Trachis; there was one also at Artemisium, whose name was Polyas, a native of Anticyra. He had a swift vessel with oars constantly in readiness, and was directed to communicate to those at Thermopylæ the event of any engagement which might take place at sea. There was also with Leonidas an Athenian named Abronychus, the son of Lyficles, who was prepared with a thirty-oared vessel to give immediate information to those at Artemisium of whatever might happen to the land forces. This man arrived at Artemisium, and informed the Greeks of what had befallen Leonidas and his

<sup>14</sup> *The oracle of Bacis.*]—There were three soothsayers of this name; the most ancient was of Eleus in Bœotia, the second of Athens, and the third of Caphya in Arcadia. This last was also called Cydus and Aietes, and wonderful things are related of him by Theopompus.—*Larcher.*

party. On receiving his intelligence, they thought it expedient not to defer their departure, but to separate in the order in which they were stationed, the Corinthians first, the Athenians last.

XXII. Themistocles<sup>15</sup>, selecting the swiftest of the Athenian vessels, went with them to a watering place, and there engraved upon the rocks these words, which the Ionians, coming the next day to Artemesium, perused: "Men of Ionia, in fighting  
 " against your ancestors, and endeavouring to re-  
 " duce Greece to servitude, you are guilty of injus-  
 " tice: take, therefore, an active part in our be-  
 " half; if this be impracticable, retire yourselves  
 " from the contest, and prevail on the Carians to  
 " do the same. If you can comply with neither  
 " of these requisitions, and are so bound by neces-  
 " sity that you cannot openly revolt, when the  
 " conflict begins, retire; remembering that you are  
 " descended from ourselves, and that the first occa-  
 " sion of our dispute with the Barbarians origi-  
 " nated with you." Themistocles, in writing the above, had, as I should suppose, two objects in view. If what he said were concealed from the king, the Ionians might be induced to go over to the Greeks, and if Xerxes should know it, it might

<sup>15</sup> *Themistocles.*]—Bartelemy, in his *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, divides the Athenian history into three distinct intervals, which he calls the commencement, the progress, and the fall of that empire. The first he names the age of Solon, or of the laws; the second, the age of Themistocles, and Aristides, or of glory; the third, the age of Pericles, or of luxury and the arts.  
 —F.

incline him to distrust the Ionians, and employ them no more by sea.

XXIII. When Themistocles had written the above, a man of Histiaea hastened in a small vessel to inform the Barbarians that the Greeks had fled from Artemisium. Distrusting the intelligence, they ordered the man into close custody, and sent some swift vessels to ascertain the truth. These confirmed the report, and as soon as the sun rose the whole fleet in a body sailed to Artemisium; remaining here till mid-day, they proceeded to Histiaea: they then took possession of the city of the Histiaens, and over-ran part of Hellopia<sup>16</sup>, and all the coast of Histiaotis.

XXIV. Whilst his fleet continued at Histiaotis, Xerxes having prepared what he intended concerning the dead, sent to them a herald. The preparations were these: Twenty thousand men had been slain at Thermopylae, of these one thousand were left on the field, the rest were buried in pits sunk for the purpose; these were afterwards filled up, and covered with leaves, to prevent their being perceived by the fleet. The herald, on his arrival at Histiaea, assembled the forces, and thus addressed them: "Xerxes the king, O allies, permits who-

<sup>16</sup> *Hellopia*.]—The whole island of Euboea was anciently called Helapia; I understand that the Hebrew word which we pronounce Hellap, means of a clear countenance; for this reason the people round Dodona were called Elli and Ellopes, and their country also Ellopia.—T.

“ ever chooses it to leave his post, and see in what  
 “ manner he contends with those foolish men, who  
 “ had hoped to overcome him.”

XXV. Immediately on this declaration, scarce a boat remained behind, so many were eager to see the spectacle; coming to the spot, they beheld the bodies of the dead. Though a number of Helots<sup>17</sup> were amongst them, they supposed that all whom they saw were Lacedæmonians and Thespians. This subterfuge of Xerxes did not deceive those who beheld it; it could not fail of appearing exceedingly ridiculous, to see a thousand Persian bodies on the field, and four thousand Greeks crowded together on one spot. After a whole day had been thus employed, the troops returned on the following one to the fleet at Histiaæa, and Xerxes with his army proceeded on their march.

XXVI. A small number of Arcadians deserted to the Persian army: they were destitute of provisions, and wished to be employed. Being introduced to the royal presence, and interrogated by several Persians, and by one in particular, concerning the Greeks, and how they were then employed: “ At present,” they replied, “ they are celebrating the

<sup>17</sup> *Helots.*]—I have in a preceding note spoken of the Helots; but for more particulars concerning them, I beg leave to refer the reader to a Dissertation on the History and Servitude of the Helots, by M. Capperonier, published in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.—T.

“Olympic games, and beholding gymnastic and equestrian exercises.” Being a second time asked the prize was for which they contended, they answered, “An olive garland.” On this occasion Tigranes, the son of Artabanus, having expressed himself in a manner which proved great generosity of soul, was accused by the king of cowardice. Hearing that the prize was not money, but a garland, he exclaimed before them all—“What must those men be, O Mardonius, against whom you are conducting us, who contend not for wealth, but for virtue?”

XXVII. After the above calamity at Thermopylæ, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocéans, with whom they had before been at enmity<sup>19</sup>, but particularly so after their last overthrow. Some

<sup>18</sup> *Tigranes.*]—Many learned men are of opinion, that this name is derived from the Togarmah of scripture, and given to the chiefs of that house; see Ezekiel, xxxviii. 6.—“Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands.” Josephus writes Togarmah’s name, *Θυγραμμης*, Thygrammis, which some copies render Thygran, neither of them very unlike Tigranes.—*T.*

<sup>19</sup> *Enmity.*]—The Thessalians being natives of Thesprotia, had seized Æolia, afterwards called Thessaly, whence they attempted to penetrate into Phoea, by the passage of Thermopylæ; but the Phocéans in this place constructed a wall, which checked their incursions. This was the source of the hatred which these people bore each other, and which was carried to such extremities, that the Thessalians in one day cut the throats of all the magistrates and princes of the Phocéans, who, in return, beat to death two hundred and fifty hostages they had in their hands.—*Larcher.*



years antecedent to this expedition of the king the Thessalians in a body, in conjunction with their allies, had attacked the Phocæans, but had been driven back and roughly handled. The Phocæans being surrounded at Parnassus, happened to have with them Tellias<sup>20</sup> of Eleum, the soothsayer, at whose instigation they concerted the following stratagem: They selected six hundred of their bravest men, whose persons and arms they made white with chalk; they thus sent them against the Thessalians,

<sup>20</sup> *Tellias.*]—He was the chief of the family of the Telliadæ, in which the art of divination was hereditary. In gratitude for the victory which they obtained through his means, the Phocæans made a statue of Tellias, which they sent to Delphi, with those of the chiefs and heroes of their country.—*Larcher.*

Compare the account here given by Herodotus with Pausanias, l. x. c. i. and the *Stratagemata* of Polyænus, l. vi. c. 18.—See also Plutarch on the Virtues of Women.

To revenge the above-mentioned murder of their hostages, the Thessalians marched against the Phocæans, determining to spare no men that were of age, and to sell the women and children for slaves. Diaphantus, governor of Phocis, on hearing this, persuaded his countrymen to go and meet the Thessalians, and to collect their women and children in one place, round whom they were to pile combustible materials, and to place a watch, who, if the Phocæans should be defeated, were to set fire to the pile. To this one person objected, saying, the women ought to be consulted on the business. The women hearing of this, assembled together, and not only agreed to it, but highly applauded Diaphantus for proposing it: it is also said, that the children also met together, and resolved on the same thing. The Phocæans afterwards engaging the enemy at Cleon, a place in Hyampolis, were victorious. The Greeks called this resolution of the Phocæan women *aponoia*, desperation. The greatest feast of the Phocæans is that which they celebrated at Hyampolis, and called *Elaphobolia*, in commemoration of this victory.

under

under cover of the night, commanding them to put every one to death who was not whited like themselves. The Theſſalian out-poſts, who firſt ſaw them, conceived them to be ſomething ſupernatural. Theſe communicated their panic to the body of the army, in conſequence of which the Phoceans ſlew four thouſand, and carried away their ſhields: half of theſe ſhields were conſecrated at Abas, and half at Delphi. A tenth part of the money which reſulted from this victory was applied to erect the large ſtatues which are to be ſeen round the tripod before the temple at Delphi: an equal number were erected at Abas.

XXVIII. The Phoceans thus treated the Theſſalian foot, by whom they had been ſurrounded: their horſe, which had made incurſions into their country, they effectually deſtroyed. At the entrance to Phocis near Hyampolis they ſunk a deep trench, into which having thrown a number of empty caſks, they covered them with earth to the level of the common ground. They then waited to receive the attack of the Theſſalians: theſe advancing, as if to capture the Phoceans, fell in amongſt the caſks, by which the legs of their horſes were broken.

XXIX. Theſe two diſaſters had ſo much exasperated the Theſſalians, that they ſent an herald to ſay thus to the Phoceans: “As you are now, O Phoceans, rendered wiſer by experience, it becomes you to acknowledge yourſelves our inferiours.”

" riors. When we formerly thought it consistent  
 " to be united with the Greeks, we were always  
 " superior to you : we have now so much influence  
 " with the Barbarian, that it is in our power  
 " to strip you of your country, and reduce you to  
 " slavery. We are nevertheless willing to forget  
 " past injuries, provided you will pay us fifty  
 " talents : on these terms we engage to avert the  
 " evils which threaten your country."

XXX. Such was the application of the Thessalians to the Phoceans, who alone, of all the people of this district, did not side with the Medes, and for no other reason, as far as I am able to conjecture, than their hatred of the Thessalians. If the Thessalians had favoured the Greeks, the Phoceans I believe would have attached themselves to the Medes. The Phoceans in reply refused to give the money : they had the same opportunity, they added, of uniting with the Medes, as the Thessalians, if they wished to change their sentiments ; but they expressed themselves unalterably reluctant to desert the cause of Greece.

XXXI. This answer of the Phoceans so irritated the people of Thessaly, that they offered themselves as guides to the Barbarian army, which they conducted from Trachis to Doris. The passage of this district is not more than thirty stadia in extent, it is situate betwixt Melias and Phocis, and was before called Dryopis. The Dorians are the original and principal people of the Peloponnese : the  
 Barbarians

Barbarians penetrated into Doria, but without committing any devastations. The Thessalians did not wish them to commit any violence here, and indeed the inhabitants had embraced the interests of the Medes.

XXXII. The Barbarians passed from Doris into Phœris, but did not make themselves masters of the persons of the inhabitants. Of these some had taken refuge on the summits of Parnassus<sup>22</sup>, at a

<sup>22</sup> *Parnassus*.]—This celebrated mountain had a forked summit with two vertices; of these one was sacred to Apollo, the other to Bacchus.—See Joddrel on Euripides, p. 19. Sir George Wheeler, in his Travels into Greece, has given an engraving of this poetical circumstance, so often celebrated by the Greek and Roman poets; and he observes, that the high cliffs seem to end in two points from the town of Delphi. He also adds, that there is a fountain with a very plentiful source of water continually flowing out from a cavity close to this mountain, which by the marble steps leading to it should be the fountain Castalia. Lucan observes, that at the time of the deluge Parnassus was the only mountain, and that too with one of its tops only, which projected above the water, l. v. 75.

Hoc solum fluctu terras mergente cacumen  
Eminuit, pontoque fuit discrimen et astris.

Which lines are thus diffusely rendered by Rowe :

When o'er the world the deluge wide was spread,  
This only mountain rear'd its lofty head;  
One rising rock preserv'd, a bound was given  
Between the vasty deep and ambient heaven.

*L. v. ver. 17.*

Sir George Wheeler says, "I esteem this mountain not only the highest in all Greece, but one of the highest in all the world, and not inferior to mount Cenis among the Alps."

place called Tithorea, near the city Neon, capable of containing a great number of people. A greater number had fled to Amphissa, a town of the Ozolæ Locrians, beyond the plain of Crisæum. The Barbarians effectually over-ran Phocis, to which the Thessalians conducted them; whatever occurred they destroyed with fire and sword, and both the cities and sacred temples were burned.

XXXIII. Proceeding along the river Cephissus, they extended their violence throughout Phocis. On one side they burned the city Drymon, on the other Charadra, Erochos, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon<sup>22</sup>, Pedieas, Triteas, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamios, and Abas. At this last place is an edifice sacred to Apollo, abounding in wealth, and full of various treasures<sup>23</sup> and offerings. Here as now was an oracle. This temple, having plundered, they set on fire. They pursued the Phoceans, and overtook some of them near the mountains; many of their female captives died, from the great number who committed violence on their persons.

XXXIV. Passing the Parapotamians, they came to the Paropeans<sup>24</sup>; at this place the army was

<sup>22</sup> *Neon.*]—M. Larcher thinks, and with great reason, that the Neon in this passage should be read Cleon.

<sup>23</sup> *Treasures.*]—As the greater part of the Grecian cities sent their wealth to Delphi, it is very probable, says M. Larcher, that those of Phocis deposited theirs at Abas.

<sup>24</sup> *Paropeans.*]—D'Anville, in his Geography, reverses this order, and places the Paropeans before the Parapotamians.

divided into two bodies, of which the one most numerous and powerful proceeded towards Athens, entering Boeotia through the Orchomenian territories. The Boeotians in general had taken part with the Medes. Alexander, with the view of preserving the Boeotian cities, and of convincing Xerxes that the nation were really attached to him, had stationed a Macedonian detachment in each. This was the line of march pursued by one part of the Barbarians.

XXXV. The other division, keeping Parnassus to the right, advanced under the conduct of their guides to the temple of Delphi. Whatever they met in their march belonging to the Phoceans they totally laid waste, burning the towns of the Paropeans, Daulians, and Æolians. They proceeded in this direction, after separating from the main army, with the view of plundering the temple of Delphi, and of presenting its treasures to the king. I have been informed that Xerxes had a more intimate knowledge of the treasures which this temple contained than of those which he had left in his own palace; many having made it their business to inform him of its contents, and more particularly of the offerings of Cræsus, the son of Alyattes.

XXXVI. The Delphians on hearing this were struck with the greatest consternation, and applying to the oracle, desired to be instructed whether they should bury the sacred treasures in the earth, or remove

move them to some other place. They were ordered not to remove them, as the deity was able to protect what belonged to him; their sole care therefore was employed about themselves; and they immediately removed their wives and children into Achaia. Of themselves the greater part fled to the summits of Parnassus, and to the Corycian cave<sup>25</sup>;

<sup>25</sup> *Corycian cave.*]—This was at the base of mount Corycius, and said by Pausanias to have been of vast extent; it was sacred to the muses, who from thence were called Nymphæ Corycides. See Ovid, Met. i. 320.

Corycidas nymphas et numina montis adorant.

It should seem, that in the countries of the East subterraneous caves were very frequent, and used by shepherds to sleep in, or as folds for their flocks in the evening. The Syrian coast, or rather the mountains on this coast, are remarkable for the number of caves in them.—See Harmer's *Observations on Passages of Scripture*, vol. iii. p. 61.

We find in the History of the Croisades, by the archbishop of Tyre, that Baldwin the First presented himself, with some troops which he had got together, before Afcalon; that the citizens were afraid to venture out to fight with him. Upon which, finding it would be to no advantage to continue there, he ranged about the plains between the mountains and the sea, and found villages whose inhabitants having left their houses, had retired with their wives and children, their flocks and herds, into *subterraneous caves*.

See also 1 Samuel, xiii. 11.

“And both of them discovered themselves unto the garrison of the Philistines; and the Philistines said, Behold, the Hebrews come forth out of the *holes* where they had hid themselves.”

Again—Judges, vi. 2.

“And because of the Midianites, the children of Israel made them the *dens* which are in the mountains, and *caves*, and strong holds.”

others

others took refuge at Amphissa in Locria. Excepting sixty men, with the principal priest, the city of Delphi was entirely deserted.

XXXVH. When the Barbarians approached, and were in sight of the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, observed that the sacred arms, which had ever been preserved in the sanctuary, and which it was impious to touch, were removed <sup>26</sup> to the outward front of the temple; he hastened to acquaint those Delphians who remained with the prodigy. The enemy continued to advance; and when they came to the temple of Minerva Pronea, more portentous appearances were seen. It might be thought sufficiently wonderful, that the arms should spontaneously have removed themselves to the outward part of the temple; but what afterwards happened was yet more astonishing. As the Barbarians drew near

<sup>26</sup> *Were removed.*]—A little before the battle of Leuctra it was said that the temples opened of themselves, and that the arms which were in the temple of Hercules disappeared, as if Hercules himself was gone to be present at that engagement. But many did not scruple to say, that these miracles were contrived by the magistrates.—*Xenophon.*

Julius Obsequens, in his enumeration of the Roman prodigies, says, that A. U. 652. *Hastæ Martis in regia sua sponte motæ*—The spears of Mars, preserved in the palace, moved of their own accord. Amongst the *pœgnostics* which preceded the assassination of Cæsar, Virgil mentions the sound of arms heard all over Germany.

*Armorum sonitum toto Germania celo  
Audiit.*

9.

the



the temple of Minerva Pronea, a storm of thunder burst upon their heads; two immense fragments of rock<sup>27</sup> were separated from the tops of Parnassus, which rolling down with a horrid noise, destroyed a vast multitude. At the same time there proceeded from the shrine of the goddess, loud and martial shouts.

XXXVIII. This accumulation of prodigies impressed so great a terror on the Barbarians, that they fled in confusion. The Delphians, perceiving this<sup>28</sup>,

<sup>27</sup> *Fragments of rock.]—*

The double head  
Of tall Parnassus reeling from the crag  
Unloos'd two fragments: mountainous in bulk  
They roll to Delphi, with a crashing sound  
Like thunder nigh, whose burst of ruin strikes  
The shatter'd ear with horror.—  
'They move, and passing by Minerva's grove,  
'Two monuments of terror see.—There stopp'd  
'The massy fragments from Parnassus rent;  
An act of nature, by some latent cause  
Disturb'd. Tremendous o'er Barbarian ranks  
The ruins down the sacred way had roll'd,  
Leaving its surface horrible to sight,  
Such as might startle war's remorseless god,  
And shake his heart of adamant. *Athenaid.*

The same events are recorded by Diodorus Siculus, l. xi. &

c. 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Perceiving this.]—*

The Delphian race  
By fear so lately to the neighbouring hills  
And caves restrain'd, forsake their shelt'ring holds; ,  
~~In clusters~~ rushing on the foes dismay'd,  
Accomplish their defeat. *Athenaid.*  
descended

defeended and slew a great number. They who escaped fled to Bœotia; these, as I have been informed, related that besides the above prodigies, they saw also two armed beings of more than human size, who pursued and slaughtered them.

XXXIX. The Delphians say that these two were heroes, and natives of the country, their names Phylacus and Autonus, to whom some buildings near the temple had been consecrated. That of Phylacus stands on the public road near the temple of Minerva Pronea, that of Autonus near Castalia, beneath the Hyampean vertex. The rocky fragments which fell from Parnassus have been preserved within my remembrance near the temple of Minerva Pronea, where they first fixed themselves after rolling through the Barbarian ranks. In this manner was the enemy obliged to retreat from the temple.

XI. The Grecian fleet, after their departure from Artemisium, at the request of the Athenians, came to an anchor at Salamis. The motive of the Athenians in soliciting this, was to have the opportunity of removing their wives and families from Attica, as well as to deliberate upon what measures they should pursue. To this also they were farther induced, because things had hitherto happened contrary to their expectations. They had hoped that the people of the Peloponnese, in one collected body, would wait the approach of the Barbarians in Bœotia. Instead of which, they  
learned

learned they were satisfied with fortifying the isthmus of the Peloponnese with a wall, careful of their own security alone. The Athenians were induced, in consequence of this intelligence, to entreat the allies to station at Salamis.

XLI. Whilst the rest of the allies continued with the fleet, the Athenians returned to their country, where they proclaimed by a herald<sup>29</sup>, that every Athenian was to preserve his family and effects by the best means in his power. The greater number took refuge at Trœzene, others fled to Ægina, and some to Salamis, each being anxious to save what was dear to him, and to comply with the injunctions of the oracle. It is asserted by the Athenians, that there is a large serpent<sup>30</sup> in the temple of the citadel, which continually defends it. Of this they have such an entire conviction, that they offer to it every month cakes of honey: these had before always been regularly consumed, at this juncture they were untouched<sup>31</sup>. The priestess having made this incident

<sup>29</sup> *By a herald.*]—It was criminal at Athens to abandon their country in time of danger, or even to remove their wives and children from the perils which impended, till permission was given by a public proclamation.—*Larcher.*

<sup>30</sup> *Large serpent.*]—See Bryant on the subject of serpent-worship, vol. i. p. 476, &c. The Athenians were esteemed Serpentigenæ, and they had a tradition that the chief guardian of their Acropolis was a serpent, &c.—*T.*

<sup>31</sup> *Untouched.*]—It appears that Themistocles was at the bottom of all these pretended miracles, and of this in particular; see his Life, as given by Plutarch.

known, the Athenians still more precipitately deserted the city, believing that their goddess had abandoned the citadel. Removing, therefore, all their effects, they hastened to join the fleet.

XLII. When it was generally known that those who had left Artemisium had taken their station at Salamis, all the vessels which were at Trœzene hastened to join them; orders having been previously issued to assemble at Pogon and Trœzene. A much larger fleet was now got together than had before fought at Artemisium, and they were manned by a greater number of different nations. Eurybiades, the son of Euryclidas, who had commanded at Artemisium, was the leader also on the present occasion, though not of the blood royal. The vessels of the Athenians were the most numerous, and the best sailors.

XLIII. The fleet was thus composed: Of the people of the Peloponnese, the Lacedæmonians furnished sixteen vessels, the Corinthians the same number as at Artemisium, the Sicyonians fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Trœzenians five, the Hermionians three. All these, except the Hermionians, were Dorians and Macedonians, coming from Eri-neus, Pindus, and Dryopis. The Hermionians are from Dryopis, they had formerly been expelled by Hercules, and the Melians of the district now called Doris.—These were the forces from the Peloponnese.

XLIV. Of

XLIV. Of those situated upon the exterior continent, the Athenians alone furnished one hundred and eighty vessels, a number equal to all the rest. The Plataeans were not present at the battle of Salamis, and for this reason; when the Greeks departing from Artemisium touched at Chalcis, the Plataeans, landing on the opposite coast of Boeotia, employed themselves in removing their families and effects, in doing which they were left behind. The Athenians were Pelasgi, and called Cranai, when that region now named Greece was possessed by the Pelasgi: under Cecrops<sup>32</sup> they took the name of Cecropidae. The title of Athenians was given them

<sup>32</sup> *Cecrops.*]—Strabo cites Hecataeus, who said that Peloponnesus was inhabited by the Barbari before it was possessed by the Greeks; and adds, that almost all Greece was anciently the seat of this strange people. Among other proofs he alledges several names of persons, such as Cecrops, Codrus, &c. which he says evidently prove a foreign language; το βαρβαρον εμφανιζεται.

Thucydides, l. i. at the beginning, with the Scholia says, that the Ionians were called Pelargi or Pelasgi. The name Pelargus is usually named of a *saunterer*, πλανητικός; this shews that it was originally used as a word of reproach. Strabo evidently derives the wandering temper of the Pelargi, or Pelasgi, from the Greek αργος, explaining the word περιπλανην by ταχυ πρὸς ἀναστροφάς, quick in changing their settlements.—*T.*

*Aegeus* of Athens, according to Androtion, was of the serpent breed; and the first king of the country is said to have been Δρακων, a dragon. Others make Cecrops the first who reigned; he is said to have been of a twofold nature, being formed with the body of a man, blended with that of a serpent. Diodorus says, that this was a circumstance deemed by the Athenians inexplicable, yet he labours to explain it by representing Cecrops as half a man and half a brute, &c.—*Bryant*, vol. i. 484, &c.

when

when Erechtheus succeeded to the throne: their name of Ionians<sup>33</sup> was derived from Ion, who had been general of the Athenian forces.

XLV. The Megareans supplied the same number of vessels as at Artemisium. The Ampraciatae brought a reinforcement of seven ships: the Leucadii, a Dorian nation, originally from Corinth, furnished three.

XLVI. Of the people of the islands, the Æginetæ provided thirty vessels, they had others, but these were employed in defending their coasts: the thirty, in which they fought at Salamis, were the best equipped, and the swiftest sailers. The Æginetæ are Dorians, originally of Epidaurus, and their island was formerly called Cænone. Next to this people, the Chalcidians, as at Artemisium, supplied twenty ships, the Eretrians seven; these are Ionians. An equal number was furnished by the people of Ceos, who also are Ionians of Athenian descent. The Naxians brought four vessels: these, with the rest of the islanders, had been desired by the majority of their countrymen to take part with the

<sup>33</sup> *Ionians.*]—See Genesis, x. 4.

“ And the sons of Javan, Elishah, and Tarshish, and Chittim, and Dodanim.”

Bochart places Javan and his sons in Europe, assigning to the father, Greece; to Elishah, Peloponnesus; to Tarshish, Tartessus in Spain; to Chittim, Latium in Italy; and to Dodanim, a part of France, l. iii. c. 7.—Javan he considers as the prince of Ionia.—T.

Medes, but they had gone over to the Greeks, by the persuasion of Democritus, a man of considerable distinction, and at that time trierarch. The Naxians also are Ionians, and of Athenian origin. The Styreans appeared with the same number of ships as at Artemisium; the Cythnians<sup>34</sup> brought only one, and that of fifty oars: both these last people are Dryopians. The allies were further assisted by the Seriphians, Siphnians, and Melians, who alone, of the islanders, had refused to render the Barbarians earth and water.

XLVII. All these different people appeared as confederates in the war, who inhabit the region betwixt the Thesproti and the river Acheron<sup>35</sup>. The Thesproti

<sup>34</sup> *Cythnians.*]—These islanders were of no great strength or importance. “If,” says Demosthenes, “I considered you as like the Siphnians, Cythnians, or such people, I would not recommend you to adopt sentiments so elevated.”—*Larcher.*

<sup>35</sup> *Acheron.*]—Here Hercules descended into hell, and thither he brought back with him the dog Cerberus, whose foam overspread the country with aconitum. Adonis was celebrated for having the liberty of descending to Acheron, or the infernal regions, and of returning again at certain seasons. See Theocritus, Idyl. iii. 48. with Scholia; see also Theoc. Id. xv. 135; where Adonis is said to be the only hero who had this privilege:

Ἡμιθεῶν ὡς Φάρτι μνηστὰς.

The descent into hell is generally understood to be a form of admission into the mysteries, for all those more especially who endeavoured to prove themselves the most illustrious benefactors to mankind. Of these mysteries the Ægyptians may perhaps be cited the original authors; and that the descent of their king

Thelproti are contiguous both to the Ampraciotæ and Leucadii, who came on this occasion from the remotest limits of Greece. Of the nations still farther distant, the Crotoniatæ alone, with one vessel<sup>36</sup>, assisted Greece in its danger: it was com-

king Rhampsinitus to the infernal regions is older than that of Hercules. Homer, in the 10th Od. enumerates Acheron amongst the rivers of hell, saying that the Phlegethon and Cocytus flow into it, εἰς Ἀχέροντα ρεῖουσ. Pope diffusely renders this the flaming gulph of Acheron; Homer says no such thing.—T.

<sup>36</sup> *One vessel.*]—Pausanias says that this vessel was provided and manned at the private expence of Phayllus; which induces Valcnaer to believe that the text of Herodotus is in this place corrupt, and that instead of νηὶ μιᾷ, we should read οὐκὴν νηϊ. Plutarch also, in his Life of Alexander, says, that the Crotoniatæ were permitted to plunder the Persians, out of respect to Phayllus, who equipped a vessel at his own expence to assist the Greeks at Salamis.

There was a statue at Delphi of this Phayllus.

I find mention made of Phayllus twice in Aristophanes; once in the Acharnenses, 210.

— οὐτ' ἐρῶ φέρων

Ἀνθρακῶν φορτίου

Ἡκολυθεν Φαυλλῶ τρεχών.

In the Scholiast to which passage we are told that there were others of this name; concerning this there is a Greek epigram, which says he could leap fifty-five feet, and throw the discus ninety-five.

Πεντ' ἐπὶ πεντηκοντα ποδᾶς πηδησε Φαῦλλος,

Δισκουσεν δ' ἑκατον πεντ' ἀπολειπομένων.

Which I have somewhere seen thus rendered in Latin:

*Saltum ad quinque pedes quinquagintaque Phayllus,*

*Discum ad centum egit quinque minus pedibus.*

He is again mentioned in the Vespæ, 1201, for his swiftness in the course.—T.



manded by Phayllus, a man who had been three times victorious<sup>37</sup> at the Pythian games.—The Crotoniatæ are of Achæan origin.

XLVIII. The allies in general furnished triremes for the service: the Melians, Siphnians, and Seriphians, brought vessels of fifty oars; the Melians two, the Siphnians and Seriphians one each. The Melians are of Spartan extraction<sup>38</sup>: the Siphnians and Seriphians are Ionians, and descended from the Athenians. Without taking into the account these vessels of fifty oars, the fleet consisted of three hundred and seventy-eight ships.

XLIX. When all these different nations were assembled at Salamis, a council was called of their leaders. At the suggestion of Eurybiades, it was proposed that each should deliver his opinion, what place of those which they possessed would be most proper for a naval engagement. Attica was considered as totally lost, and the object of their deliberation was the rest of Greece. It seemed to be the opinion of the majority, that they should sail to the isthmus, and risk a battle in the vicinity of

<sup>37</sup> *Three times victorious.*]—Pausanias says, that he was twice victorious in the contests of the Pentathlon, and once in those of the Stadium.

<sup>38</sup> *Spartan extraction.*]—Thucydides, book v. says the same thing; *Μηλιοὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν εἰσὶν ἀποικοί*, the Melians are a Lacedæmonian colony: so also does Xenophon, *Hist. Græc.* l. ii. The particulars of their migration are related at length by Plutarch, in his *Treatise of the Virtues of Women*, where he speaks of the Tyrrhene women.—T.

the Peloponnese; for if, it was urged, a defeat should be the issue of a contest at Salamis, they would be exposed to a siege on the island, without the prospect of relief; but from the isthmus they might easily retire to their respective countries.

L. Whilst the leaders were revolving this matter, a messenger arrived from Athens, to inform them that the Barbarians had penetrated Attica, and was burning all before him. The forces under Xerxes, in their passage through Bœotia, had set fire to the city of the Thespians, who had retired to the Peloponnese. They had also burned the city of the Plateans, and proceeding onwards, were now about to ravage Athens<sup>39</sup>. They had so treated Thespia and Platea, because informed by the Thebans that these places were hostile to them.

LI. After passing the Hellespont, the Barbarians had remained a month in its vicinity before they

<sup>39</sup> *Ravage Athens.*]—The following lines, describing the advance of Xerxes to Athens, are highly animated and poetical.

Her olive groves now! Attica display'd;  
 The fields where Ceres first her gifts bestow'd,  
 The rocks whose marble crevices the bees  
 With sweetness stor'd; unparallel'd in art  
 Rose structures growing on the stranger's eye  
 Where'er it roam'd delighted. On like Death,  
 From his pale courser scatt'ring waste around,  
 The regal homicide of nations pass'd,  
 Unchaining all the furies of revenge  
 On this devoted country, &c.

*Athenaid.*

advanced: three more were employed, in their march to Attica, where they arrived when Calliades was chief magistrate. They found the city deserted; an inconsiderable number remained in the temple, with the treasurers<sup>40</sup> of the temple, and a few of the meaner sort, who, with a pallisade of wood, attempted to prevent the approach of the enemy to the citadel. These had not gone to Salamis, being deterred partly by their indigence, and partly from their confidence in the declaration of the oracle, that a wall of wood would prove invincible. This they had referred not to the ships, but to the defence of wood which on this occasion they erected.

LII. The Persians encamped on the hill opposite the citadel, which the Athenians call the hill of Mars<sup>41</sup>, and thus commenced their attack: they  
shot

<sup>40</sup> *Treasurers.*]—See Suidas, at the word *Ταμίαι*; these, he tells us, were Athenian magistrates, and were ten in number: The shrine of Minerva, of Victory, with their ornaments and wealth, were delivered to them in the presence of the senate.

<sup>41</sup> *Hill of Mars.*]—On this place was held the celebrated court of the Areopagus, of which, as it bore so high a rank in the constitution of the Athenian republic, the following succinct account from Gillies may be acceptable.

“ The court of the Areopagus, originally entrusted with the criminal jurisdiction, assumed an extensive power in regulating the behaviour and manners of the citizens: it consisted only of such magistrates as had discharged with approbation the duties of their respective offices. The members were named for life, and as from the nature of the institution they were generally persons of a mature age, of an extensive experience, and who  
having

shot against the entrenchment of wood arrows wrapped in tow, and set on fire. The Athenians, although reduced to the last extremity, and involved in the fire which had caught their barricade, obstinately refused to listen to conditions, and would not hear the Pylæratidæ, who on certain terms invited them to surrender. They resisted to the last, and when the Persians were just about to enter, they rolled down upon them stones of an immense size. Xerxes, not able to force the place, was for a long time exceedingly perplexed.

LIII. In the midst of their embarrassment the Barbarians discovered a resource: indeed the oracle had declared, that whatever the Athenians possessed on the continent should be reduced to the power of the Persians. In the front of the citadel, but behind the gates and the regular ascent, there was a cragged and unguarded pass, by which it was not thought possible that any man could force his way. Here, however, some of the enemy mounted, near the temple of Aglauros<sup>42</sup>, the daughter of Cecrops. As soon as the Athenians discovered them, part

having already attained the aim, had seen the vanity of ambition, they were well qualified to restrain the impetuous passions of the multitude, and to stem the torrent of popular phrenzy."

<sup>42</sup> *Aglauros*.]—This word is written *Aglauros* in Pausanias, l. i. c. 18; in Ovid. *Mét.* l. ii. 739.

Aglauros lævum, medium possederat Herse,

Larcher nevertheless, on the authorities of Apollodorus and of Stephen of Byzantium, writes it *Agraulos*; see his elaborate note.

threw themselves over the wall and were killed; others retired into the building. The Persians who entered forced their way to the gates, threw them open, and put the suppliants to death who had there taken refuge: they afterwards plundered and set fire to the citadel.

LIV. As soon as Xerxes found himself entire master of Athens, he sent a horseman to Susa, to inform Artabanus of his success. 'On the following day he called together the Athenian exiles who were with him, and ordered them to go to the citadel, and there sacrifice according to the custom of their country. He was probably induced to this from some nocturnal vision, or from some compunction, on account of his having burned the temple. The exiles did as they were commanded.

LV. I will explain my reason for introducing this circumstance:—There is in the citadel a temple sacred to Erechtheus<sup>43</sup>, who is said to have been the offspring

<sup>43</sup> *Erechtheus*.]—See book v. c. 82. Not only Erechtheus called himself the offspring of the earth, but, as I have before shewn, all the Athenians also. In his temple were three altars, on the first of which they sacrificed to Neptune and Erechtheus, from which Neptune was called Erechthean. See Lycophron, v. 158.

Erechtheus was deified, because in a contest with Enkolpus, prince of Thrace, he was told by the oracle that if he would sacrifice his daughter before he engaged the enemy, he should

offspring of the earth: in this is an olive<sup>44</sup> and a sea<sup>45</sup>, believed to have been placed there by Neptune

tune

be victorious; he did so, and succeeded. See the story related, *Lycurg. contra Leocrat.* Taylor's edition, 217.

Concerning his being deemed an offspring of the earth, Farnaby, on this kind of fortuitous generation, is worth consulting, in his note on Ovid. Met. i. 416.

Pausanias, in his Atticis, c. xxvii. mentions two large figures in brass in a fighting attitude, supposed to represent Erechtheus, and Immaradus, son of Eumolpus.—T.

<sup>44</sup> *An olive.*]—This, according to Pliny, was said to exist in his time; it was in the citadel: and because goats destroy the olive and make it barren, it was forbidden to bring goats near the citadel, except once a year for the necessary sacrifice.—*Larcher.*

Some oil made of this olive, which was sacred to Minerva, was given as a reward to those who conquered in the Panathenæa. See the Scholiast to the Nubes of Aristophanes, and to the 10 Nem. Ode of Pindar, ver. 65. See a whole oration of Lysias; *πρὸς τὸ σπυρ.*—T.

<sup>45</sup> *A sea.*]—This was a cistern, into which, by a subterraneous canal, sea water was conducted.

“In itself,” says Pausanias, “there is nothing remarkable; but what deserves to be related is, that when the south wind blows, a noise is heard like that of agitated waves; and upon the stone is seen the figure of a trident, which is said to be a testimony of the dispute betwixt Minerva and Neptune concerning Attica.”—See *Pausanias*, l. i. c. 26.

The same was also said to be in the temple of Neptune Hippias, near Mantinea, and at Mylasæ, a town of Caria, although the gate of this last place was eighty furlongs from the sea, and Mantinea was so far inland, that the water of the sea could not come there unless by a miracle.—*Larcher.*

The word sea is used in the same manner for a large cistern by our interpreters of the bible; see 2 Kings, xxv. 13.

“And the pillars of brass that were in the house of the Lord,  
and

tune and Minerva, in testimony of their dispute concerning this country : this olive the Barbarians had burned with the temple. The Athenians, who had been sent by the king to perform the ceremonies of their religion, which was two days after the place had been burned, observed that this olive had put forth a new shoot, a cubic<sup>47</sup> in length.

LVI. When the Greeks at Salamis heard what had befallen the citadel of Athens, they were seized with consternation ; many of the leaders, without waiting the result of the council as to their future conduct, went hastily on board, hoisted their sails, and prepared to fly. It was instantly determined by those who remained, that they must only risk an engagement at sea near the isthmus. At the approach of night they left the assembly, and returned to their ships.

and the bases, and the *brazen sea* that were in the house of the Lord, did the Chaldees break in pieces, and carried the brass of them to Babylon.”

This sea is described, 1 Kings, vii. 23, to be ten cubits from one brim to the other. The Greek word in Herodotus, and in the Septuagint, is θαλασσαν. This meaning of the English word *sea* I do not find either in Chambers's or Johnson's Dictionary.—T.

<sup>46</sup> *Their dispute.*]—This is said to have happened in the reign of Cecrops. Neptune coming to Athens, struck with his trident the midst of the citadel, from which sprang a horse ; Minerva produced an olive : Jupiter assigned the patronage of the town to Minerva.

<sup>74</sup> *A cubit.*]—Pausanias says two cubits. I suppose, says Larcher, the miracle increased with the time.

LVII. As soon as Themistocles had retired to his vessel, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, came to ask him what had been the determination of the council. When he was informed of their resolution to sail to the isthmus, and come to battle in the vicinity of the Peloponnese, he expressed himself as follows: "If the allies," said he, "shall once leave Salamis, you will never have the opportunity of fighting for your country. The fleet will certainly separate, and each nation return to their respective homes, and neither Eurybiades nor any one else will be able to prevent them: thus Greece will perish from the want of judicious counsel. Make haste, therefore, and endeavour to counteract what has been determined; if it be possible, prevail on Eurybiades to change his purpose and continue here."

LVIII. This advice was so agreeable to Themistocles, that without returning an answer he went to the vessel of Eurybiades. As soon as he saw him, he expressed his desire to speak with him on what was of importance to the common interest: he was desired to come on board, and declare his sentiments. Themistocles, seized by him, related what had been said by Mnesiphilus, as from himself, which he so enforced by other arguments, that Eurybiades was brought over to his opinion, and persuaded to leave his ship, and again assemble the leaders.

LIX. As soon as they were met, and before Eurybiades



rybiades had explained why he had called them together, Themistocles spake at some length, and with great apparent zeal. Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian leader, interrupted him: "Themistocles," said he, "at the public games they who rise before their time are beaten." "True," replied Themistocles, "but they who are left behind are never crowned."

LX. Having thus gently reproved the Corinthian, he turned to Eurybiades; he did not repeat what he had said to him before, that as soon as the fleet should leave Salamis the confederates would disperse, for as they were present he did not think it proper to accuse any one. He had recourse to other arguments: "The safety of Greece," said he, "depends on you; whether, listening to me, you come to an engagement here, or, persuaded by those who are of a contrary opinion, you shall conduct the fleet to the isthmus; hear the arguments on both sides, and then determine. If we fight at the isthmus, we must fight in the open sea, where, on account of our heavier vessels and inferior number, we shall have every disadvantage: add to this, that if every thing else succeed to our wishes, we shall yet lose Salamis, Megara, and Ægina. The land forces of the enemy will accompany their fleet, which you will thus draw to the Peloponnese, and involve all Greece in danger. By adopting what I recommend you will have these advantages: By fighting within a narrower space of sea, our small force will be  
" better

" Better able to contend with the greater armament  
 " of the enemy, and, according to the common  
 " chances of war, we shall have decisively the ad-  
 " vantage. For us it must be most eligible to  
 " contend in a small space, as for them to fight in  
 " a large one. Thus also will Salamis be pre-  
 " served, where our wives and children remain;  
 " and thus too the very advantage of which you  
 " yourselves are solicitous will be secured. By  
 " remaining here you will as effectually defend the  
 " Peloponnese as by failing to the isthmus; and it  
 " will be extremely injudicious to draw the enemy  
 " there. If, as I sincerely wish, we shall obtain  
 " the victory, the Barbarians will neither advance  
 " to the isthmus, nor penetrate beyond Attica:  
 " they will retire in confusion. We shall thus be  
 " benefited by preserving Salamis, Megara, and  
 " Ægina, where the oracle has promised we shall  
 " be superior to our enemy. They whose delibe-  
 " rations are regulated by reason <sup>48</sup> generally ob-  
 " tain their wishes, whilst they who are rash in their  
 " decisions must not expect the favour of the  
 " gods."

LXI. Themistocles was a second time interrupt-  
 ed by Adimantus of Coriſth, who ordered him to

<sup>48</sup> *Regulated by reason.*]—

True fortitude is seen in great exploits,  
 Which justice warrants, and which wisdom guides;  
 All else is tow'ring phrenzy and distraction. *Addison.*



with stores and men, a force which none of the Greeks would be able to resist.

LXII. He afterwards proceeded to address himself to Eurybiades in particular. "If," said he, with greater earnestness, "you continue here, you will deserve our universal gratitude; if not, you will be the destroyer of Greece. In this war our fleet constitutes our last, our only resource. You may be assured, that unless you accede to my advice, we will take on board our families, and remove with them to Siris in Italy", which from remote times has been considered as belonging to us, and where, if the oracle may be credited, we ought to found a city. Deprived of our assistance, you will hereafter have occasion to remember my words."

LXIII. By these arguments Eurybiades was finally influenced, principally, as I should suppose, from his fears lest, if they failed to the isthmus, they should be deserted by the Athenians, without whose aid they would be little able to contend with the enemy. He acceded therefore to what Themistocles proposed, and consented to stay and fight at Salamis.

<sup>53</sup> *In Italy.*]—

~~To~~ Hesperian shores  
For them by ancient oracles reserv'd;  
Save from insulting foes and false allies.

*Athenaid.*

LXIV.

LXIV. When the determination of Eurybiades was known, the confederates, wearied with altercations, prepared to engage. In this situation the morning appeared, at the dawn of which there was a convulsion of the earth, which was felt at sea. They determined therefore to supplicate the gods, and implore the interposition of the *Æacidæ*. This was accordingly done: after calling upon all the gods, they invoked Ajax and Telamon, and dispatched a vessel to *Ægina*, to intreat the aid of *Æacus* and the *Æacidæ*<sup>52</sup>.

LXV. *Dicæus* the son of *Theocydes*, an Athenian exile, but of considerable reputation with the Medes, at the time when Attica was deserted by the Athenians, and waited by the army of Xerxes, reported that he was with *Demaratus* of Sparta on the plains of *Thria*. Here he saw a dust as of an army of thirty thousand men advancing from *Eleusis*. Whilst they were wondering from whence it could proceed, *Dicæus* affirms that he heard a voice which seemed to him the mystic *Iacchus*<sup>53</sup>.

*Demaratus,*

<sup>52</sup> *Æacidæ*.]—See book v. c. 80.—Consult Pausanias, book ii. c. 29.

Near the port of the island of *Ægina* there is a temple of *Venus*, and in the most conspicuous part of the city is a temple of *Æacus*, called the *Æaceium*. It is a square structure of white marble, in the entrance of which are the statues of the deputies who came to *Æacus* from all parts of Greece.

<sup>53</sup> *Iacchus*.]—On the 20th of the month *Boëdromion*, which answers to our October, which was the 16th day of the festival of

Demaratus, being ignorant of the Eleusinian mysteries<sup>54</sup>, inquired the meaning of the noise which he heard. "Demaratus," answered Dicæus, "some great calamity is impending over the forces of the king: Attica being deserted, it is evidently the divinity which speaks, and is now coming from Eleusis to assist the Athenians and their allies."

of the mysteries of Ceres, they carried from the Ceramians to Eleusis a figure of Iacchus, or Bacchus, crowned with myrtle, having a torch in his hand. During the procession they sung a hymn in honour of the god, which hymn was also called Iacchus, and in which they often repeated the word Iacche.—*Larcher*.

The word Iacchus is derived, according to Eustathius, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰαχεῖν, from bawling out. Iacchus is used by Virgil as synonymous with vinum, because Iacchus or Bacchus was the god of wine: some say he was the son of Ceres. In the mysteries here mentioned he is always joined with Ceres and Proserpine; but he is not always considered as the son of Ceres, though nursed at her breast.—See *Lucretius*, and *Salmasius ad Solinum*, p. 750.

The circumstance of the mystica vannus, or mystical fan, which in this solemnity was carried before the image of Iacchus, is thus curiously explained by Servius, ad Georg. i. 166. The fan, says he, was carried in procession before Bacchus, because they who were initiated into his mysteries are purified as corn is by the use of the fan or van.—47.

<sup>54</sup> *Mysteries*.]—I have before spoken on the subject of these mysteries; but the reader will find a far more particular and entertaining account of them, in Warburton's *Divine Legation*, and in the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*, vol. v. 507, &c. Warburton intimates his belief that the initiated were instructed in the unity of the Divine Being. Larcher thinks otherwise: they might perhaps, says the learned Frenchman, do this with respect to those whom they found inclined to believe this dog-

" allies. If this shall appear in the Peloponnese  
 " the king himself, and the forces which are with  
 " him, will be involved in the greatest danger;  
 " if it shall shew itself at Salamis, the destruction  
 " of the king's fleet will probably ensue. Once in  
 " every year the Athenians solemnize these rites  
 " to Ceres and Proserpine, when also they ini-  
 " tiate into the mysteries such of the Greeks as  
 " may desire it. The sound which you hear is  
 " the voice of Iacchus." To this he says Dema-  
 " ratus made him this reply: " Make no mention  
 " of this to any one. If what you say should be  
 " communicated to the king, you will certainly  
 " lose your head, and neither myself nor any one  
 " else will be able to save you: be silent therefore,  
 " and leave the event to the gods." He added,  
 that after the dust and voice which they saw and  
 heard, a cloud appeared, which directed its course  
 towards Salamis and the Grecian fleet. From this  
 they concluded that the armament of Xerxes would  
 be defeated. This was reported by Dicaeus<sup>55</sup> the  
 son

ma; but they preached atheism to a select number, in  
 whom they found a favourable disposition to receive it. The  
 temple of Ceres, where these mysteries were celebrated, was  
 one of the noblest in Greece; it is described by Strabo, book  
 ix. and by Vitruvius, book viii. A view of it is given in the  
 "*Ruins of Athens*;" and it is described also by Chandler in his  
 "*Travels in Greece*." There were the greater and the lesser  
 mysteries; the latter of which belonged to Proserpine only.  
 —T.

<sup>55</sup> *Dicaeus*.]—Upon this name the following pleasant anecdote occurs in the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*.

A Per:

son of Theocydes; for the truth of which he appealed to Demaratus and others.

**LXVI.** The naval troops of Xerxes, after being spectators of the slaughter of the Spartans, passed over from Trachis to Histiaæa, where they remained three days: thence sailing down the Euripus, in three more they came to Phalerum<sup>56</sup>. The land and

A Persian, who founded all his merit on the splendour of his name, came to Athens: as I had known him at Susa, I was his conductor to the theatre. We happened to sit near a number of Athenians who were talking together—he was anxious to know their names. The first, says I, is called *Eudoxus*, that is, *the honourable*; immediately my Persian makes a low bow to *Eudoxus*: the second, I continued, is named *Polyctetus*, or *the very celebrated*; another very low bow. Doubtless, says he, these two are at the head of the republic. Oh no, they are people whom no body knows. That third person, who seems so infirm, is called *Megasthenes*, or *the very strong*; the fat heavy man yonder is named *Prothoos*, or *the very swift*; yon melancholy fellow's name is *Epicharis*, which means *the cheerful*. The sixth, says the Persian impatiently, how is he called? *Sostratos*, or *the saviour of the army*. He has commanded then? No; he has never been in the service. The seventh, yonder, who is called *Clitomachus*, which signifies *illustrious warrior*, has always been a coward, and is declared infamous. The name of the eighth is *Dicaeus*, or *the just*, a most notorious rascal.—I was going to name the ninth, when the stranger rose and said, How all these people disgrace their names! But at least, says I, you must confess, that their names do not make them coxcombs.—T.

<sup>56</sup> *Phalerum*.]—Athen's had three ports near each other, Piræus, Mûnychia, and Phalerum. Phalerum was said to have been named from Phalerus, a companion of Jason in the Argonautic expedition. Theseus sailed from it for Crete, and Menestheus his successor for Troy; and it continued to be the



and sea forces were neither of them, as far as I can determine, less in number when they laid waste Attica than when they first arrived at Sepias and Thermopylæ. To supply the loss of those who perished from the storm, and who were slain at Thermopylæ and Artemisium, there arrived from those nations which had not yet declared for the king reinforcements of Melians, Dorians, Locrians, and Bactrians, who, except the Thespians and Plataeans, joined him with all their troops. To these may be added the Carystians, Andrians, Tenians, with all the people of the islands, except the five states<sup>57</sup> before specified. The farther the Persians penetrated into Greece, by the greater numbers they were followed.

LXVII. All these troops except the Parians assembled at Athens or at Phalerum. The Parians<sup>58</sup> staid at Cythnus waiting the event of the war. At

haven of Athens to the time of Themistocles. It is a small port of a circular form; the entrance narrow, the bottom a clear fine sand, visible through the transparent water. The fane of Aristides, and his monument, which was erected at the public expence, were by this port. The capital port was Piræus.—*Chandler.*

Chandler writes Phalerum; Pococke Phalereus and Pyraeum; D'Anville, Phalerus; Meursius, in his tract called Piræus, or an Essay on the Port of that Name, writes Phalerum, and properly. This was the most ancient part of the three.—*T.*

<sup>57</sup> *Five states.*]—Naxos, Melos, Siphnos, Seriphus, and Cythnus.

<sup>58</sup> *Parians.*]—The Parians shared with the Persians the disgrace of the battle of Marathon; and their perfidy to the Greeks became proverbial.—*T.*

this

this juncture Xerxes visited his fleet in person, to confer with the leaders, and to acquaint himself with their sentiments. On his arrival he presided at a council, where the princes of the different nations, and the several commanders, were placed according to the rank which Xerxes had given them. The prince of Sidon first, the prince of Tyre<sup>59</sup> next, and

<sup>59</sup> Tyre.]—In Isaiah, chapter xxiii. ver. 10. Tyre is called the daughter of Tarshish; in the same chapter, ver. 12. Tyre is called the daughter of Sidon, I presume, on different accounts. The Syrians were originally a colony of the Sidonians, and Sidon, consequently the mother city of Tyre. By Tarshish, the Seventy universally understand Carthage: but how then could Tyre be called the daughter of Tarshish? for Carthage was the daughter of Tyre.

Herodotus, in book ii. chap. 44, speaks of the Hercules of Tyre. It has been conjectured by many learned men, that this could have been no other than the Israelitish Sampson. That this is very probable, the reader may perhaps be inclined to think from these amongst other reasons:

With the story of Sampson the Tyrians might easily become acquainted at Joppa, a sea port belonging to the tribe of Dan; but more especially from those Danites who removed to Laish, in the neighbourhood of Tyre, and who, as Ezekiel informs us, had great commerce with the Tyrians. These Danites came from Zorah and Eshtaol, where Sampson was born and lived, and would not fail of promulgating and magnifying the exploits of their own hero. I am aware how rash it is to pronounce a sameness of person from a likeness of certain corresponding circumstances in the actions of men, but there are certain particulars so striking, first in the account given of this Tyrian Hercules by Herodotus, and secondly, in the ritual prescribed for his worship, that where we can prove nothing by more solid argument, conjectures so founded may be permitted to have some weight. The story of Sampson will account for

and the rest in order. The king then commissioned Mardonius to inquire of them individually, whether they were willing to engage the enemy.

LXVIII. Mardonius began with the prince of Sidon, and from him went to the rest, and they

the two pillars set up in the temple of Hercules, if we consider them as placed there in commemoration of the greatest of Sampson's exploits. The various circumstances which Herodotus makes peculiar to the Tyrian Hercules, however disguised, are all reducible and relative to this last action of Sampson. 1. Hercules, being apprehended by the Ægyptians, was led in procession as a sacrifice to Jupiter; and the Philistines proclaimed a feast to offer a great sacrifice to Dagon their god, and to rejoice, because Sampson was delivered into their hands. 2. Whilst Hercules stands at the altar, he remained quiet for a season; and so was Sampson when his strength was departed from him. 3. But in a short time Hercules returned to his strength, and slew all the Ægyptians.—Concerning the ritual used in the worship of the Tyrian Hercules, Bochart remarks there were many things in it not practised elsewhere. Let the reader judge from what follows whether they do not seem borrowed from the Levitical Law, or grounded on what the Scripture relates of Sampson. The total disuse of images, the prohibition of swine in sacrifice, the habit of the priest, his embroidered stole, &c. and naked feet, the strict chastity exacted of him, the fire ever-burning on the altar, are all of them precepts which Moses delivered. Why may we not add that the exclusion of women from the temple, and the shaven head of the priests, were intended to brand the treacherous behaviour of Dalilah, and to commemorate the loss of Sampson's locks? Appian, Arrian, and Diodorus Siculus, acknowledge these to have been Phœnician rites, and different from any observed amongst the Greeks; and it is well known that this singularity was a principal point intended by the ritual of Moses.

—T.

were

were all of opinion that a battle should be fought ;  
but Artemisia thus delivered her sentiments :  
“ Mardonius, deliver this my opinion to the king,  
“ whose exertions in the battle of Eubœa were  
“ neither the meanest nor the least ; I think myself  
“ therefore justified in declaring what I think will  
“ be most to your interest to pursue. I would  
“ advise you to spare your ships, and not risk a  
“ battle. These men by sea are as much superior  
“ to yours, as men are to women : but after all,  
“ what necessity is there for your hazarding an en-  
“ gagement ? You are already in possession of  
“ Athens, the avowed object of this expedition,  
“ the rest of Greece is already your own, and no  
“ one resists you. They who opposed you have  
“ met the fate they merited. I will now tell you  
“ how the affairs of your adversaries are circum-  
“ stanced : if you do not urge a naval engagement,  
“ but will order your vessels either to remain here, or  
“ sail to the Peloponnese, all your wishes will infal-  
“ libly be accomplished. The Greeks will not long  
“ be able to oppose you ; you will oblige them to  
“ separate, and retire to their respective homes. I  
“ am well informed, that in the island where they  
“ are they have no supply of provisions ; and if you  
“ shall enter the Peloponnese, it is not to be sup-  
“ posed that these remaining here will risk a battle  
“ for the sake of the Athenians. But if you de-  
“ termine to fight them by sea, I seriously fear that  
“ a defeat of your fleet will be added to that of  
“ your land forces. Let this also be impressed

“ upon your mind, that the best of men have  
 “ sometimes the worst of servants; and that bad  
 “ men are frequently served with fidelity. You,  
 “ O king, are one of the best of men; but you  
 “ have amongst your dependants Ægyptians, Cy-  
 “ prians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians<sup>60</sup>, from whom  
 “ no good can be expected.”

## LXIX.

<sup>60</sup> *Cilicians and Pamphylians.*]—However contemptuously these people may be here introduced, it is certain that Tarsus of Cilicia was accounted the metropolis of this part of Asia, and was the first commercial power which made any figure in that part of the world. Not only the fables of Pagan mythology, which inform us that Anchiale was built by the daughter of Japetus, and Tarsus, by Perseus, son of Jupiter, bear witness to the high antiquity of these cities; but Scripture also informs us, that the sons of Tarshish, who were settled on this coast, had made themselves famous for their navigation and commerce as early as the days of David. *The ships of Tarshish*, see Psalm xlviii. 7, were then become a common appellation for all vessels of trade; and *to go to Tarshish*, a proverbial expression for setting out to sea in such vessels. That part of the Mediterranean which was contiguous to Cilicia was called the Sea of Tarshish. Pamphylia was colonized from Cilicia, and was the entrance to it from the north-west. Strabo gives this character of the natives of Tarsus: “ They did not stay at home,” says he, “ but in order to complete their education went abroad; and many of them, when thus accomplished, resided with pleasure in foreign parts, and never returned.” When their neighbours on all sides, both in Asia and the adjacent islands, made themselves infamous for their piratical depredations, the inhabitants of Tarsus maintained a fair reputation; they not only occupied their business in great waters, but they also traded on the continent. They had factories at Dedan and Sheba on the Euphrates, with which they trafficked in silver, &c.—*Ezekiel*, xxxviii. 10. All which incidents considered, I should

LXIX. They who wished well to Artemisia were apprehensive that her speaking thus decisively to Mardonius against risking a battle, would bring upon her some mark of the king's indignation: her enemies, on the contrary, who wished to see her disgraced, and who were jealous of her favour with the king, were delighted in the confident expectation that her freedom of speech would prove her ruin; but Xerxes, after hearing the opinions of the council, was particularly pleased with that of Artemisia; he had esteemed her before, but he was on this occasion lavish in her praise. He nevertheless determined to comply with the decision of the majority; and as he imputed the former ill success at Eubœa to his being absent, he resolved to be a spectator of the battle of Salamis.

LXX. When orders were given for the fleet to depart, they proceeded towards Salamis, and deliberately ranged themselves in order of battle. As the approach of evening prevented their then coming to an encounter, they prepared themselves for the following day. In the mean while a general consternation was impressed upon the Greeks, and in particular upon those of the Peloponnese, who, conceiving that their fighting at Salamis was solely on account of the Athenians, believed that a defeat would occasion their being blockaded in the island,

should suppose that the censure of Artemisia, passed upon them in this place, will hardly occasion them to be considered either as a faithless or cowardly people.—7.

and

and would leave their own country totally defenceless.

LXXI. On the very same night the land forces of the Barbarians advanced to the Peloponnese, though every possible effort had been made to check their proceeding farther on the continent. As soon as the Peloponnesians had heard of the ruin of Leonidas and his party at Thermopylæ, they assembled at the isthmus all the forces they could collect from their different cities under the conduct of Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandrides, and brother of Leonidas. Encamped here, their first care was to fortify the pass of Sciron<sup>61</sup>, they then, after consulting on the subject, proceeded to defend the whole of the isthmus by a wall. This was soon finished, as not one of so many thousands was inactive; for without intermission, either by night or day, they severally brought stones, bricks, timber, and bags of sand.

LXXII. The Greeks who appeared in defence of the isthmus with their collected strength, were the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians universally, Eleans,

<sup>61</sup> *Sciron.*]—Said by Strabo to have been called from the famous robber of that name, who was remarkable for his barbarity to passengers, and who was killed by Theseus.—See Lucian in *Jove Tragædo*, where we learn that at the same time Theseus destroyed two other famous robbers, whose names were Pityocampes and Cercyon. Sciron he threw into the sea, and his bones became rocks.—See *Ovid. Met.* vii. 443.—*T.*

Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Troezenians and Hermionians. All these were drawn together by the danger which menaced Greece. The rest of the Peloponnesians, although the Olympic games and Carnian festivals were past, remained in careless inactivity at home.

LXXIII. The Peloponnese is inhabited by seven different nations; two of these, the Arcadians<sup>62</sup> and Cynurians, are natives of the country, and have never changed their place of residence. The Achaians have never quitted the Peloponnese, but have simply removed from one situation to another. The

<sup>62</sup> *Arcadians.*]—Eustathius in Dion. v. 414, tells us that Arcadia was formerly called Gigantis, that is the Land of Giants. It was also called Azania. Arcadia was sacred to the god Pan, who was worshipped in every corner of the country. It was celebrated for the richness of its pastures; and its inhabitants were so generally addicted to the business of feeding cattle, that Arcades and Pastores became synonymous terms; and the Bucolic verse was styled the Arcadian. Of the antiquity which this people claimed I have already spoken in a foregoing note. Some have supposed Arcadia to have been so called from Arcas, the son of Callisto, who was said to have had his name from the supposed transformation of his mother, and to have given it to Arcadia.—See in *Arati Phæn. de Callisto*. Τεκνὸν Ἀρκτοῦ ἔσαν τοὶ ἄληθιντα Ἀρκάδα. Homer says they were wholly ignorant of maritime affairs:

Ἐπεὶ καὶ σφὶ θαλάσσια ἔργα μὲμνηται.

Which Pope imperfectly renders,

And new to all the dangers of the main.

See what De Pauw says of the Arcadians in his *Recherches sur les Grecs*.—T.



four others, namely the Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopians, and Lemnians, migrated here. The Dorians have many famous cities; the Ætolians<sup>63</sup> Elis only; the Dryopians have Hermion and Asina, near Cardamyle<sup>64</sup>, in Laconia. The Paroreatæ<sup>65</sup> are all Lemnians. The Cynurians, though natives of the country, are supposed to be Ionians; but in process of time, like the Orneatæ and their neighbours, they became Dorians, and subject to the Argives<sup>66</sup>. Of all these seven nations, those only

<sup>63</sup> *Ætolians.*]—There seems to be a doubt in this place whether it should be read Æolians or Ætolians. Æolus is said by some learned men to be Elisha, eldest son of Javan.—See the Genealogy. The name Elisha is explained by the Jewish Rabbi to mean *ad insulam*; and Varro, as cited by Servius on the 1st Æneid, gives the same title to Æolus Hippotades, styling him *dominus insularum*. Lesbos was called Issa, that is, I believe, the island.—See Hesychius in 1007. Of the Ætolians, M. P. de Pauw, in his Preliminary Discourse to his Recherches Philosophiques sur les Grecs, gives a shocking character. “On y parloit,” says the Frenchman, “à-la verité la langue des Grecs, mais on y avoit les mœurs des Barbares, & tant d’atrocité dans le caractère, que l’on comparoit les Etoliens à des bêtes féroces cachées sous le masque de l’homme, &c.—T.

<sup>64</sup> *Cardamyle.*]—Strabo says this city was founded on a rock, *ἐν πέτρᾳ*; and Homer mentions it as one of the seven which Agamemnon promised to give Achilles.—T.

<sup>65</sup> *Paróreatæ.*]—See book iv. c. 145, Oreatæ was the name of a city in the territories of Lacedæmon, which was afterwards called Bræsiæ or Prasæ; concerning which consult Pausanias in Laconicis.—T.

<sup>66</sup> *Argives.*]—Eustathius says, that Apis cleared the Peloponnese of serpents, and named it from himself Apia; he was deified.

only whom I have specified attached themselves to the cause of Greece; the others, if I may speak the truth, certainly favoured the Medes.

LXXIV. They who were at the isthmus exerted themselves as if every thing depended upon them alone, not expecting any thing from the fleet. The Greeks at Sa'amis hearing this, were overwhelmed with terror, not so much on their own account, as on that of the Peloponnese. They began to murmur secretly amongst each other, and to complain of the injudicious conduct of Eurybides. They at length expressed their discontent aloud, and obliged a council to be called; a violent debate ensued, some were for sailing instantly to the Peloponnese, and risking every thing for its defence, urging the absurdity of staying where they were to contend for a country already captured. The Athenians, with those of Ægina and Megara, thought it most adviseable to fight where they were.

deified, and thence called Serapis, a manifest allusion to the great idol of the Ægyptians. From these serpents Argos might receive its name, for *αργας* was used as synonymous with *οφεις*.—See *Hesychius*. The frog, which was the symbol of the people of Argos, was explained to be a direction to them to keep at home; and properly enough, that they might guard the isthmus, prevent a surprize, and be a constant garrison to the Peloponnese. It was an allusion also, I believe, to their old name Leleges. *Λαλαγεις*, says *Hesychius*, is the frog of a green colour. The Spartan coin, or that of the Peloponnese, was a *χελωνη*, or tortoise, the symbol of a housekeeper.—*Υ*.

LXXV. Themistocles, seeing himself overpowered by those of the Peloponnese, retired privately from the council: he immediately dispatched a messenger to the enemy's fleet, with instructions what to say. The man's name was Sicinnus, a domestic, and the tutor of his children, whom Themistocles afterwards caused to be made a citizen of Thespia, and who became very opulent. Directing his course to the leaders of the Barbarian fleet, he thus addressed them: "The Athenian leader<sup>67</sup>,  
 " who in reality is attached to the king, and who  
 " wishes to see the Greeks in subjection to your  
 " power, has sent me thus privately to you: a con-  
 " sternation has seized the Greeks, and they are  
 " preparing to fly; an opportunity is now afforded  
 " you of performing a splendid action, unless you  
 " suffer it through negligence to escape you. They  
 " are divided amongst themselves, and incapable of  
 " farther resistance. You will soon see those who  
 " favour, and who are inclined to oppose you, in  
 " hostilities with each other." Having said this Sicinnus departed.

<sup>67</sup> *Athenian leader.*]—

Themistocles, who leads  
 Athenian squadrons, is the monarch's friend,  
 Approv'd by this intelligence; the Greeks  
 In consternation shortly will resolve  
 To separate and fly. Let Asia's fleet  
 Her numbers round in diligence extend,  
 Investing every passage; then confus'd  
 This whole confederated force of Greece  
 Will sooner yield than fight, and Xerxes close  
 At once so perilous a war.

*Athenaid.*

LXXVI. The Barbarians, confiding in this intelligence, passed over a large body of Persians to the small Island of Psittalia<sup>68</sup>, betwixt Salamis and the continent. About midnight the western division of their fleet advanced towards Salamis<sup>69</sup>, meaning to surround it. The ships also which lay off Céos and Cynosura<sup>70</sup>, removed, and occupied the whole narrow sea as far as Munychia. They drew out their fleet in this manner to cut off from the Greeks the possibility of retreat, and that, thus inclosed at Salamis, they might suffer vengeance for the battle of Artemisium. Their view in sending a body of forces to Psittalia was this: this island was contiguous to the spot where the battle must of necessity take place; as therefore such vessels and men as were injured in the fight must endeavour to take refuge here, they might here preserve their own and slay the forces of the enemy. The measure was pursued privately and unperceived by the enemy, to accomplish which the whole night was employed without any interval of rest.

<sup>68</sup> *Psittalia.*]—*Ψιτταλία*. Non retulissim inter populos Atticos nisi Strabonis locus aliud suaderet. Itaque credendum illum aliquando fuisse habitatum.—*Jacobus Sponius de Pagis Atticis.*

<sup>69</sup> *Advanced towards Salamis.*]—Larcher, in a very elaborate note, attempts to describe the situation of the two fleets with respect to each other in this memorable engagement; but the reader perhaps will have a better conception of it from the chart to be found in the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, than from any thing Larcher has said, or that I can say.—*T.*

<sup>70</sup> *Cynosura.*]—This was a promontory of Attica, opposite to the southern extremity of Eubœa; and must not be confounded with the place of the same name in Laconia. Some critical remarks on the subsequent oracle may be found in Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. Appendix No. 2.—*T.*

LXXVII. After reflecting upon this subject, the truth of the oracular prediction appears incontestible; for who would attempt to contradict a declaration so obvious as the following?

“ On Dian’s shore, and Cynosura’s coasts,  
 “ When ev’ry strait is fill’d with naval hosts;  
 “ When hostile bands, inspir’d with frantic hope,  
 “ In Athens give wide-wasting fury scope.—  
 “ Then shall the youthful son of daring Pride  
 “ The vengeance of celestial wrath abide,  
 “ Fierce tho’ he be, and confident of pow’r,  
 “ For arms with arms shall clash, and blood shall  
     “ show’r  
 “ O’er all the sea : while liberty and peace  
 “ From Jove and Victory descend to Greece.”

After the above explicit declaration from Bacis, I shall neither presume to question the authority of oracles myself, nor patiently suffer others to do so.

LXXVIII. Disputes still continued to run high amongst the leaders at Salamis, who were not at all conscious of their being surrounded by the Barbarians. They presumed that the enemy remained on the very same post in which they had observed them during the day.

LXXIX. Whilst they were debating in council, Aristides, son of Lyfimachus, arrived at Ægina; he was an Athenian, and had been banished<sup>71</sup> by a  
vote

<sup>71</sup> *Banished.*]—Literally ostracised. Every body knows that ostracism was the banishing a person by writing his name upon

vote of the people, although my information induces me to consider him as the most excellent<sup>72</sup> and upright of his fellow-citizens. He immediately went to the assembly and called out Themistocles, who was not his friend, but his particular enemy. The greatness of the impending danger prevailing over every thing else, he called him out to confer with him; he had heard how anxious the Peloponnesians were to return with the fleet to the isthmus; accordingly when Themistocles appeared,

upon a shell, in Greek *Ostrakon*. It was not a dishonourable banishment, but rather a mark of popularity, and generally inflicted on the great and powerful. By this, Themistocles, Aristides, Thucydides, and Alcibiades, were banished.

By ostracism, a person was banished for ten years; a similar mode of banishment was adopted at Syracuse, and called petalism, where the people wrote the name upon a leaf, *petalon*. By petalism, a man was banished for five years only.

Perpetual exile at Athens was the punishment of sacrilege and high treason; the term they used was not *φύγις*, but *ἐξέχρισθαι*.—T.

<sup>72</sup> Most excellent.]—Ælian gives a catalogue of Greeks who were alike remarkable for their extraordinary merit and extreme poverty. Aristides, Phocion, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Lamachus, Socrates, and Ephialtes. With respect to the dispute betwixt Themistocles and Aristides, the same authority informs us, that they were educated together under the same preceptor, and that when children they were notorious for their dislike of and quarrels with each other. Plutarch says, that one amongst other reasons for the inveterate hatred which prevailed betwixt them, was their having an attachment to the same youth.

The circumstance of their mutually laying aside their animosities when their country was in danger has obtained them everlasting glory.—T.

he spoke to him thus: "It would become us at any time, and more particularly at the present, to contend which of us can best serve our country". I have to inform you, that whatever the Peloponnesians may now urge with respect to retiring to the isthmus can be of no signification, I can assure you, from my own observation, that the Corinthians, and Eurybiades himself, could not now fail thither if they would; we are on all sides furrounded by the enemy. Return therefore, and tell this to the assembly."

LXXX. "What you tell me," replied Themistocles, "I consider as particularly happy for us all. The thing which I most ardently wished to happen you have beheld: know then, that this motion of the Medes is the consequence of my measures, it appearing to me essential that those Greeks who were reluctant to fight should be compelled to do so; but as you come to tell us what promises us so much good, tell it yourself. If I shall inform the assembly of what you say, I shall obtain no credit; nor will they suppose

<sup>73</sup> *Best serve our country.*]—

Diffentions past as puerile and vain  
 Now to forget, and nobly strive who best  
 Shall serve his country, Aristides warns  
 His ancient foe Themistocles. I hear  
 Thou giv'st the best of councils, which the Greeks  
 Reject through mean solicitude to fly.  
 Weak men! throughout these narrow seas the foe  
 Is stationed, now preventing all escape. *Athenaid.*

“ that the Barbarians are posted as they are. Enter therefore yourself, and inform them how things are. If they believe you, it will be well ; but if not, the event will be the same. For if, as you say, we are surrounded, there exists no opportunity to retreat.”

LXXXI. Aristides entering the council, repeated what he had before said ; that he was come from Ægina, and had passed with great difficulty through the enemy's forces ; that the Grecian fleet was entirely surrounded, and that it became them to prepare for their defence. Aristides, as soon as he had spoken, retired. Fresh altercations now again arose amongst the leaders, the greater part of whom refused to credit what they had heard.

LXXXII. Whilst they continued still to doubt, a trireme of Tenians deserted to them ; they were commanded by Parætius, the son of Sosimenes, and their intelligence put the matter beyond all dispute. In gratitude for this service, the names of the Tenians were inserted upon the tripod consecrated at Delphi, amongst those who repelled the Barbarians. This vessel, which joined them at Salamis<sup>74</sup>, added to one of Lemnos, which before came

<sup>74</sup> *Salamis.*]—Attica was surrounded by islands, but except this of Salamis, they were in general barren and uninhabited. Salamis is praised in high terms by Euripides, as abounding in money and olives. Euripides and Solon were both born here. The trophies of the battle of Salamis, says De Pauw, cease to



came over to them at Artemisium, made the exact number of the Grecian ships three hundred and eighty. There were only three hundred and seventy-eight before.

LXXXIII. The Greeks having all their doubts removed by the Tenians, prepared seriously for battle. At the dawn of morning all was in readiness. Themistocles said every thing which might avail to animate his troops. The principal purport of his speech was a comparison betwixt great and pusillanimous actions; explaining how much the activity and genius of man could effect, and exhorting them to have glory in view. As soon as he had finished, orders were given to embark. At this juncture the vessel which had been sent to the Æacidæ returned from Ægina, and soon afterwards all the Grecian fleet were under sail.

LXXXIV. As soon as they began to move the Barbarians rushed upon them. While the Greeks lay upon their oars, and seemed rather inclined to retire, Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, darted forwards and attacked the enemy; when he was so involved with his opponent, as to be unable to separate, the rest came to his assistance, and a promif-

interest us; but the Iphigenia in Tauris, and the legislation of Solon, can never be forgotten.

To take a circuit of the district of Attica, it was advised to embark at Salamis, double the promontory of Sunium, and landing in the Oropian territories, proceed to the mouth of the Asopus.—T.

acious engagement ensued. Thus, according to the Athenians, the battle began. The people of Ægina say, that the engagement was begun by the vessel which had been sent to the Æacidæ. It is also affirmed that a female figure was visible to the Greeks, and that, in a voice sufficiently loud to be heard by them all, it exclaimed, "Insensate men, how long will ye remain inactive on your oars?"

LXXXV. The Athenians were opposed to the Phœnicians, who occupied the division towards Eleusis<sup>75</sup> and the west; the Lacedæmonians combated the Ionians, who were in the division towards the Piræus<sup>76</sup> and the east. A small number of these, at the suggestion of Themistocles, made no remarkable exertions; but with the majority it was otherwise. I am able to mention the names of several trierarchs who overpowered and took Grecian vessels; but I shall only specify Theomestor, son of Androdamas, and Phylacus, son of Histæus, both of them Samians. I mention these, because on account of the service which he on this occasion

<sup>75</sup> *Eleusis*.]—So called from Eleusis son of Mercury.—See *Pausanias in Atticis*, & *Meursius Atticæ Lectiones*, l. iii. c. 20. The Eleusinians submitted voluntarily to the dominion of Athens, on condition of having the privilege exclusively of celebrating the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, which proved to them an inexhaustible source of riches.—T.

<sup>76</sup> *Piræus*.]—This, as I have before remarked, was the most celebrated port of the Athenians. A Tract of J. Meursius, called *Piræus*, contains every thing relating to it and its antiquities.—T.

performed, Theomestor was made prince of Samos by the Persians. Phylacus also had his name written, as deserving of the royal favour, and was presented with a large tract of land. They who merit the favour of the king are in the Persian tongue called Orosangæ.

LXXXVI. A very great part of the Barbarian fleet was torn in pieces at Salâmi, principally by the Athenians and the people of Ægina. The event could not well be otherwise. The Greeks fought in order, and preserved their ranks; the Barbarians, without either regularity or judgment. They nevertheless behaved better this day than at Eubœa, and they made the greater exertions from their terror of the king, in whose sight<sup>77</sup> they imagined they fought.

LXXXVII. To speak decisively and minutely of the several efforts, either of Barbarians or Greeks, is more than I can presume to do. The conduct however of Artemisia increased her favour with the king. When the greatest disorder prevailed in the royal fleet, the vessel of Artemisia was pursued by

<sup>77</sup> *In whose sight.*]—It is no doubt difficult to describe and understand accounts of battles; but whoever places himself on the spot where the Persian monarch is said to have viewed the battle of Salamis, and at the same time reads the account which Herodotus, or that which Æschylus, an eye-witness, gives in his *Perse* of that action, and considers the shoalness of the water, and the small space into which so many ships were crowded, must think contemptibly of the marine engagements in those days.—Wood on Homer.

an Athenian, and reduced to the extremest danger. In this perplexity, having before her many vessels of her allies, and being herself the nearest to the enemy, the following artifice succeeded<sup>78</sup>. As she retreated from the Athenian, she commenced an attack upon a ship of her own party; it was a Calyndian, and had on board Damafithymus, the Calyndian prince. Whilst they were in the Hellespont, she was involved in some dispute with this man, but it is still uncertain whether her conduct in the present instance was the effect of design, or accidentally happened from the Calyndian's coming first in her way. This vessel Artemisia attacked and sunk, by which she obtained a double advantage. The Athenian commander seeing the vessel he pursued attack a Barbarian, supposed that it was either a Grecian ship, or one that had deserted the Barbarians, and was now assisting the Greeks: he was thus induced to direct his attack elsewhere.

LXXXVIII. Artemisia by this action not only avoided the impending danger, but also made herself more acceptable to the king at the time she was doing him an actual injury. It is asserted that the king, as he viewed the engagement, observed her vessel bearing down upon the other. At this period, some attendant remarked to him, "observe, Sir, the prowels of Artemisia, she has now sent to the

<sup>78</sup> *Artifice succeeded.*]—Polyænus informs us, that Artemisia first ordered her Persian ensign to be taken down; a circumstance omitted by Herodotus, but which adds much to the probability of the story.—*Larcher*.

“bottom a vessel of the enemy.” The king was earnest in his enquiry, whether the ship which attracted his attention was really that of Artemisia. Those about him, knowing exactly the figure which distinguished her ship, assured him that it was: at the same time they had no doubt but the vessel she had attacked belonged to the enemy. It happened amongst the other fortunate occurrences which Artemisia met with, that not a single person of the Calyndian vessel survived to accuse her. Xerxes is said to have replied to what they told him: “The men have behaved like women, the women like men<sup>79</sup>.”

LXXXIX. In this battle, many personages of distinction fell, both of the Persians, the Medes, and their confederates; amongst others Ariabignes<sup>80</sup> was slain; he was the commander in chief, son of Darius, and brother of Xerxes. The loss of the Greeks was but small. As they were expert in swimming<sup>81</sup>, they whose ships were destroyed, and who did not perish by the sword, made their escape to

<sup>79</sup> *The women like men.*]—Xerxes sent a compleat suit of Grecian armour to Artemisia, as a reward of her bravery; to the commander of his own fleet, a distaff and spindle.—*Polyænus*. This last does not seem to me probable, and the answer of Xerxes perhaps gave rise to it. The commander of the fleet was the brother of Xerxes, who died after fighting gallantly —*Larcher*.

<sup>80</sup> *Ariabignus.*]—Called Artabazanes, book vii. c. 2.

<sup>81</sup> *Swimming.*]—The art of swimming constituted a material part of youthful education amongst the Greeks and Romans; if

At Salamis. Great numbers of the Barbarians, from their ignorance of this art, were drowned. When the foremost ships were obliged to seek their safety by flight, a general destruction of the rest ensued. They who were behind, anxious to advance to the front, and to give to the king, who viewed them, some testimony of their zeal and courage, ran foul of those vessels which were retreating.

XC. During the confusion, many Phœnicians who had lost their ships went to the king, and informed him, that their disgrace was occasioned by the perfidy of the Ionians. The consequence of this was, that the Ionian leaders were not punished with death, but the Phœnicians were. While they were yet speaking, a Samothracian vessel attacked one of Attica, and sunk it; immediately afterwards, a ship of Ægina fell upon the Samothracian, and inflicted on it a similar fate; but the Samothracians, who were skilful in the management of the spear, attacked as they were going down their adversaries with so much success, that they boarded and took the vessel. This exploit was very fortunate for the Ionians. Xerxes observing this specimen of the Ionian valour, turned with anger

if they intended to speak in very contemptuous terms of any man, they said he had neither learned to read nor to swim.

Savary informs us, that of the Ægyptians, men, women, and children, are remarkably expert, and he says graceful, in swimming. Man is the only perfect animal which learns to swim, all others swim naturally; in general we find that islanders, and all those people whose country is intersected by canals, or abounds in rivers, are skilful in this manly exercise, whilst those living more inland are ignorant of it.—7.

to the Phœnicians, and as he was beyond measure vexed and exasperated, he ordered them all to be beheaded, as being pusillanimous themselves, they had presumed to accuse men better than themselves. The king, placed on mount *Ægaleos*<sup>82</sup>, which is opposite to Salamis, was particularly observant of the battle, and when he saw any person eminently distinguish himself, he was minute in his inquiries concerning his family and city, all which at his direction his scribes recorded. This execution of the Phœnicians was not a little forwarded by Ariaram-

<sup>82</sup> *Mount Ægaleos.*]—The ancients differ concerning the place from which Xerxes beheld the battle of Salamis. Phano-demus pretends that it was from the temple of Hercules, in a place where Attica is separated from Salamis by a very small strait. Accestodorus says it was from the hills called Cerata (The Horns) or the confines of the territory of Megara. The difference is only in appearance. They fought, says Pausanias, at Salamis, which stretches itself as far as Megara; thus Mount *Ægaleos* was on the confines of Attica and Megara.—*Larcher.*

*Æschylus* in the *Persæ* contents himself with saying, that Xerxes was a spectator of the engagement, without saying from what place :

Εδραν γὰρ εἶχε παύτος εὐκρυῆ στεῖν  
Υψηλὸν ὄχθον ἀγχι πηλαγῶς αἰός.

He had a seat from which he could easily discern all his forces, a lofty mound *near the sea*; from which it should seem to have been some artificial tumulus. The Scholiast to the passage of *Æschylus* refers the reader to the place before us in *Hierodotus*. Pliny calls it Mount *Ægialos*.—*T.*

Xerxes, who enthron'd  
High on *Ægaleos* anxious fate to view  
A scene which nature never yet display'd,  
Nor fancy feign'd. The theatre was Greece,  
Mankind spectators, equal to that stage,  
Themistocles, great actor.

*Athenaid.*

nes,

des, a Persian, and favourite of the king, who happened to be then present.

XCI. In this disaster were the Phœnicians involved; the Barbarians retreating, were anxious to gain Phalerum; the Æginetæ however guarding this neck of sea performed what well deserves mention. The Athenians in the tumult of the fight, overpowered those who resisted, and pressed upon those who fled. These last the Æginetæ attacked, so that many which escaped from the Athenians were intercepted by the Æginetæ.

XCII. As Themistocles was engaged in the pursuit of a flying enemy, he came up with a vessel of Ægina, commanded by Polycritus, son of Crios, which was then attacking a vessel of Sidon. It happened to be the very ship which off Sciathus took Pytheas, the son of Ischenus, in a vessel of Ægina sent to watch the motions of the enemy. This man almost expiring from his wounds the Persians with great tenderness had preserved on account of his extraordinary valour; and when the Sidonian vessel with the Persians on board was taken, Pytheas was restored in safety to his country. Polycritus observing the Athenian vessel, which by its colours he knew to belong to the commander in chief, called out in a reproachful manner \* to Themistocles, and

\* *In a reproachful manner.*]—The Athenians had accused the Æginetæ, and particularly Crios the father of this man, of designing to betray their country to the Medes.—See book vi. chap. 49. To this unjust accusation Polycritus alluded in this sarcasm.—T.



bade him observe how the Æginetæ shewed their attachment to the Medes; at the same time he rushed on the Sidonian.

XCIH. The Barbarians, whose ships remained, fled to Phalerum, and joined the land forces. On this day, they who distinguished themselves the most were the people of Ægina, next to them the Athenians. Of the Æginetæ, Polytritus was most eminent; of the Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyris, and Aminias of Pallene<sup>83</sup>. This last was the person who pursued Artemisia, and who would not have desisted till he had taken the enemy, or been taken himself, if he had conceived her to have been on board the vessel which he chased. The Athenian commanders had received particular orders with respect to her, and a reward of ten thousand drachmæ was offered to whoever should take her alive; it being thought a most disgraceful circumstance that a woman should fight against Athens. She however escaped as we have before described, as also did many others, to Phalerum.

XCIV. The Athenians affirm<sup>84</sup> of Adimantus, the leader of the Corinthians, that at the very commencement

<sup>83</sup> *Aminias of Pallene.*]—He was brother to the great poet Æschylus.

<sup>84</sup> *The Athenians affirm.*]—Dion Chrysostom relates, that our historian not having received the compensation which he expected from the Corinthians, to whom he had recited what he had written in their praise, was induced to misrepresent their conduct,

On the commencement of the fight he was seized with a panic and fled. The Corinthians followed his example. Arriving at the temple of Minerva Sciras<sup>85</sup>, not far from the coast of Salamis, they met a little bark, which seemed as if sent by the gods: who actually sent it could never be discovered; it approached however the Corinthians, who were in total ignorance how things went, and when at a certain distance some one on board exclaimed: "Adimantus, by thus flying with the ships under your command, you must be considered as the betrayer of Greece: the Greeks however are victorious over their enemies to the utmost of their hopes." Adimantus not giving credit to these assertions, it was repeated from on board the little

conduct, with that of Adimantus, on the day of Salamis. Plutarch pretends that Herodotus from malignity related the battle of Salamis in a manner disadvantageous to the Corinthians. If what was asserted by Dion Chrysostom were true, Plutarch would not have omitted it. I cannot prevail on myself to believe that our historian was influenced by either motive. I rather think he desired to gratify the Athenians, who were at enmity with the Corinthians. Plutarch with some reason opposes to Herodotus the silence of Thucydides, the offerings made at Delphi, the vow of the women of Corinth, and the inscriptions of Simonides, and some other poets, of which the historian could not be ignorant. I may add, that if Herodotus had felt the motives imputed to him by Plutarch and Dion Chrysostom, he would not have opposed to the recital of the Athenians the evidence of Universal Greece.—*Larcher*.

<sup>85</sup> *Minerva Sciras.*]—Salamis was anciently called Sciras, from some hero. Minerva was honoured by this name in that island, whence came the sacrifice called at Athens the *Epilios*, and the month *Scirophorion*.—*Larcher*.

bark,

bark, that they would agree to suffer death if the Greeks were not victorious. Adimantus therefore with his detachment made haste to rejoin the Greeks, but they did not come up till the battle was determined. This is what the Athenians affirm. The Corinthians deny the fact, declaring that no nation was more distinguished on this occasion than themselves; and this indeed the Greeks in general confirm.

XCV. Aristides the Athenian, son of Lyfimachus, of whose integrity I have before made honourable mention, during the tumult of the battle of Salamis, rendered his country this service: taking with him a number of armed Athenians, whom he found stationed along the shore of Salamis, he landed on the island of Psittaleia, and put every Persian whom he found there to death.

XCVI. After the engagement, the Greeks collected all their damaged vessels at Salamis<sup>86</sup>, and prepared for another battle, presuming that the

<sup>86</sup> *Salamis*.]—Amongst other rejoicings which celebrated the victory of Salamis, I find in Athenæus the following anecdote of Sophocles. Sophocles, who had a very fine person, was also accomplished in the arts of music and dancing, which when very young he had been taught by Lamprus. After the victory of Salamis, he danced with a lyre in his hand round a military trophy erected by the conquerors. Some say that he was entirely naked, and anointed with oil; others, that he was in his clothes. When he exhibited his tragedy of *Thamyris*, he played on the *Citharis*; and when his *Nauicaa* was performed, he discovered great activity in leaping with the ball—*σφαίριστον*.—T.

king would renew the fight with all the vessels he had left. At the same time a wind from the west had driven on that part of the coast of Attica, which is called Colias, many wrecks belonging to the enemy. Thus the different oracles pronounced concerning this battle at Bacis and Musæus were minutely accomplished, as was also the prediction of the Athenian Lyfistratus, made many years before concerning these wrecks. It had long eluded the sagacity of the Greeks, and was to this effect:

“ The Colian dames with oars shall roast their  
“ food <sup>87</sup>.”

The above happened after the king's departure.

XCVII. When Xerxes knew how severely he had suffered, apprehending that the Ionians might induce the Greeks, or that of themselves they might be disposed to sail to the Hellespont and break down the bridge, determined to seek his safety by flight. Desirous however of not being suspected in his design, either by the Greeks or his own troops, he made an effort to connect Salamis with the continent, joining for this purpose the Phœnician transports together, to serve both as a bridge and a wall. He then made seeming preparations for another naval engagement. His taking these measures caused it to be generally believed that he intended

<sup>87</sup> *Roast their food.*]—This passage has greatly perplexed the commentators; in the Greek it is *ερεμουςι φριξουσιν*, shall rage at the oars. Kuhnus reads *φριξουσιν*, which both Wesseling and Valœnaer approve.—T.

to continue where he was and prosecute hostilities: His real purpose did not escape Mardonius, who was well acquainted with his mind. Whilst Xerxes was thus employed, he sent a messenger to Persia with intelligence of his defeat<sup>88</sup>.

XCVIII. The Persian messengers travel with a velocity which nothing human<sup>89</sup> can equal. It is thus

<sup>88</sup> *Defeat.*]—"I have been told by a Mede," says Dion Chrysostom, "that the Persians do not agree to what is reported by the Greeks. They pretend that Xerxes conquered the Lacedæmonians at Thermopylæ, and slew their king; that he made himself master of Athens, totally destroying it, and reducing all those Athenians to slavery who did not escape by flight; and that finally he returned to Asia, after having imposed a tribute on the Greeks. It is evident that this narrative is false; but it is not impossible, indeed it is very probable, that the king said this to the Asiatic nations," &c.—*Larcher*.

<sup>89</sup> *Nothing human.*]—Οὐρανόν εἶπεν.—Valcnaer does not approve this reading. Surely, says he, the domestic pigeons, which we know were used for the purpose of conveying intelligence very anciently, travelled much faster. He therefore proposes to read ἀνθρώπων or ἀνθρώπων, human. Larcher replies to this, by saying, "that it is not probable that pigeons were used in the great roads where public posts were established, but rather in routs difficult of access for horses." This observation has no great weight; it is more to the purpose that he refers the reader to an expression of Herodotus, in the first book, where he calls the horse, πάντων τῶν θητῶν το ταχίστον. I nevertheless prefer the conjecture of Valcnaer.

The regularity and swiftness of the Roman posts cannot fail of exciting the admiration of all who attentively consider the subject; they are thus excellently described by Gibbon:

"The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to establish, throughout their extensive dominions, the regular institution

thus accomplished: as many days as are required to go from one place to another, so many men and horses are regularly stationed along the road, allowing a man and a horse for each day: neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor darkness, are permitted to obstruct their speed. The first messenger delivers his business to the second, the second to the third, as the torch is handed about amongst the Greeks at the feast of Vulcan. This mode of conveying intelligence the Persians call Angareion.

XCIX. On the arrival of the first messenger at Susa, informing them that Xerxes was master of Athens, such universal transport prevailed, that the Persians strewed their public roads with myrtle, burned perfumes, and all were engaged in religious or private festivals; but the intelligence of the second messenger excited universal sorrow; they tore

institution of posts. Houses were every where erected at the distance only of five or six miles; each of them was constantly provided with forty horses, and by the help of these relays, it was easy to travel a hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads." Mr. Gibbon adds in a note the following anecdote:

"In the time of Theodosius, Cæsarius, a magistrate of high rank, went post from Antioch to Constantinople. He began his journey at night, was in Cappadocia (165 miles from Antioch) the ensuing evening, and arrived at Constantinople the sixth day about noon. The whole distance was 725 Roman, or 665 English miles."—See also *Libanius, Orat. 22*, and the *Itineraria*, p. 572—581.

The mode adopted by Cyrus, as described by Xenophon, did not essentially vary from this of the Romans.—T.

their cloaths<sup>90</sup>, wept and mourned aloud, imputing all the blame to Mardonius. They were not so solicitous about the loss of their fleet, as anxious for the person of their king; nor were their disquietudes calmed but by the arrival of Xerxes himself.

C. Mardonius observed that his defeat at *Sea* greatly afflicted Xerxes, and he suspected that he meditated to fly from Athens: he began therefore to be alarmed on his own account, thinking that as he had been the instrument of the king's commencing hostilities with Greece, he might be made the object of his vengeance. He thought it therefore preferable to attempt again the subjection of Greece, or in some great effort meet an honourable death. His idea of conquering Greece prevailed, and after some deliberation, he thus addressed the king: "I would not, Sir," said he, "have you  
 " much afflict yourself concerning what has hap-  
 " pened, nor suppose that your reputation has suf-  
 " fered from it any considerable wound. The  
 " ultimate success of our attempts does not de-  
 " pend<sup>91</sup> on ships, but on our troops and horses.  
 " They,

<sup>90</sup> *Tore their cloaths.*]—This was a custom of the Orientals, of which various examples occur in Scripture.—See also the Persæ of Æschylus, 53. &c.—*Larcher*.

<sup>91</sup> *Does not depend.*]—The following paraphrase on this speech of Mardonius by Mr. Glover, is one of the best passages in his poem:

Be not discourag'd, sovereign of the world!  
 Not oars, not sails, and timber can decide

Thy

“ They, who from their late advantages, suppose  
 “ all contest at an end, will not presume to leave  
 “ their vessels to oppose you, nor will the Greeks  
 “ on the continent dare to meet you in the field.  
 “ They who did so, suffered. With your permission,  
 “ therefore, our future exertions shall be made in  
 “ the Peloponnese; or if you please for a while to  
 “ suspend your activity, it may securely be done: be  
 “ not however disheartened, it is not possible that  
 “ the Greeks should be finally able to elude the  
 “ vengeance due to them, or to avoid being made  
 “ your slaves. What I have recommended, you  
 “ will find to merit your attention; but if you are  
 “ determined to return with your army, I have  
 “ other advice to offer. Suffer not, O king, the  
 “ Persians to become the ridicule of the Greeks;  
 “ you will not find us to have been the instruments  
 “ of your losses; you have never seen us cowardly  
 “ or base. If the Phœnicians, Ægyptians, Cy-  
 “ prians, or Cilicians have behaved themselves ill,  
 “ it ought not to be imputed to us: if the Persians  
 “ therefore have not merited your censure, vouch-  
 “ safe to listen to my counsel; if you shall not  
 “ think proper to continue with us yourself, return

Thy enterprize sublime. In shifting rise,  
 By winds and billows governed, may contend  
 The sons of traffic; on the solid plain  
 The generous steed and soldier; they alone  
 Thy glory must establish, where no swell  
 Of sickle floods, nor breath of casual gales  
 Assist the skilful coward, and controul  
 By nature's wanton but resistless might  
 The brave man's arm, &c.

*Athenaid.*



“ to your country, and take with you the majority  
 “ of your forces. Leave me here three hundred  
 “ thousand chosen men, and I doubt not but I shall  
 “ reduce Greece to your obedience.”

CI. Xerxes, on hearing this, found his vexation  
 suspended, and his tranquillity restored. He told  
 Mardonius, that after taking advice on the subject  
 he would give him an answer. Having consulted  
 with some Persians whom he assembled, he deter-  
 mined to send for Artemisia, whose superior wisdom  
 he had before had reason to approve. On her ar-  
 rival, Xerxes ordered his counsellors and guards to  
 retire, whilst he thus addressed her: “ Mardonius  
 “ advises me to continue here, and make an at-  
 “ tempt on the Peloponnese, urging that my Per-  
 “ sians and land forces have not been at all acces-  
 “ sary to the injuries we have sustained, of which  
 “ they desire to give me future testimony. If I  
 “ should disapprove of this, he himself engages,  
 “ with three hundred thousand troops, to stay and  
 “ reduce Greece to my power, recommending me  
 “ to retire with the rest of the army to my native  
 “ country. Do you therefore, who with so much  
 “ wisdom endeavoured to dissuade me from risking  
 “ an engagement at sea, tell me which of these  
 “ measures you would have me pursue?”

CII. The reply of Artemisia was to the follow-  
 ing purport: “ In a situation like the present,  
 “ O king, it is not easy to say what measures will be  
 “ best; but as far as I am able to discern, I would  
 “ recommend

“ recommend your return. Let Mardonius re-  
 “ main here with the number of forces he re-  
 “ quires, as it is his own voluntary proposal with  
 “ these to effect the accomplishment of your  
 “ wishes. If he shall subjugate the country, and  
 “ effect what he promises, the glory will be yours”,  
 “ for your troops must be his instruments; if he  
 “ should be disappointed and vanquished, while  
 “ you are safe, and your family and fortunes secure,  
 “ no great calamity can ensue. The Greeks, as  
 “ long as you shall survive, and your family re-  
 “ main, must be involved in many contests. If  
 “ Mardonius shall fail in his attempts, and perish,  
 “ the Greeks will have no great advantage to boast  
 “ from the misfortunes or death of one of your  
 “ slaves. You have burned Athens, which was  
 “ the proposed object of your expedition, and may  
 “ therefore return without dishonour.”

“ *The glory will be yours.* ]—Thus in subsequent times did the emperors of Rome obtain ovations, triumphs, and an artificial reputation from the successful labours of their more bold and hardy lieutenants. “ Under the commonwealth,” says Mr. Gibbon, “ a triumph could only be obtained by the general who was authorized to take the auspices in the name of the people. By an exact consequence drawn from this principle of policy and religion, the triumph was reserved to the emperor; and his most successful lieutenants were satisfied with some marks of distinction, which under the name of triumphal honours, were invented in their favour.” Speaking of the emperors lieutenants, in another place, he says, “ they received and held their commissions at the will of a superior, to whose auspicious influence the merits of their action was legally attributed.”—T.

CIII. Xerxes was delighted with advice so consonant to the secret wishes of his heart: for my own part, I am of opinion his terror was so great, that no persuasions could have prevailed on him to stay. Artemisia was dismissed most graciously from his presence, and directed to retire with the royal children to Ephesus, for some of the king's natural sons had accompanied him.

CIV. Hermotimus a favourite eunuch of the king, and a Pedasian by birth, was sent to take care of them. The Pedasians<sup>93</sup> inhabit the district beyond Halicarnassus. It is affirmed of this people, that as often as they are menaced by any calamity, the chin of the priestesses of Minerva produces a large beard; an incident which has happened twice amongst them.

CV. This Hermotimus revenged himself on account of the injury he had formerly sustained, with a severity, as far as I can learn, without example. He had been taken captive, and sold as a slave to a man of Chios<sup>94</sup>, named Panionius, who maintained

<sup>93</sup> *The Pedasians, &c.*—See book i. chap. 175. Valnaer is of opinion that the whole of this paragraph to the end of the chapter is spurious. It certainly has no business here, and if essential at all, would have more properly appeared in book vi. chapter 20. The strongest argument against its being genuine is, that Strabo seems to have known nothing of it; speaking as if he had only seen the passage in the first book to which I have referred the reader.—*U*

<sup>94</sup> *Chios.*—Chios, and the islands in its vicinity, were famous for

tained himself by the most infamous of all traffic : whenever he met with any youths whose persons were handsome, he castrated them, and carrying them

for their purple. It was to Chios that Alexander, when he was revelling in Persia, sent for materials to clothe himself and his attendants with purple robes. It was produced from the purpura called in Maccabees, chap. iv. verse 23, the purple of the sea.

“ Then Judas returned to spoil the tents, where they got much gold and silver, and blue silk, and purple of the sea, and great riches.”

See also Ezekiel, chapter xxvii. where the prophet, enumerating the merchandize of Tyre, says, verse 7. “ Blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee.” By the isles of Elishah, I conceive the prophet to mean Lesbos, Tenedos, and the small islands near them. There were several species of the purpura, but the Pelagium and the Buccina were most valued.—See *Pliny*, l. ix. c. 33. From these two separately, or combined, were produced the three kinds of purple most esteemed by the ancients. One was called *πορφυρεῖς*, of a strong violet colour inclining to black; a second was called *φοινικίς*, inclining to scarlet; a third *αλαργίς*, azure or sky blue. Athenæus says, l. iii. c. 12, that the best and largest were found about Lesbos and the promontory of Lectus.

“ By the discovery of cochineal,” says Mr. Gibbon, “ we far surpass the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a strong smell and a dark cast, as deep as bull’s blood. In Rome, this was restrained to the sacred person and palace of the emperor, and the penalties of treason were denounced against the ambitious subjects who dared to usurp the prerogative of the throne.”—See *Gibbon*, vol. iii. 71. Statius in the following passage seems to distinguish betwixt the deep and the blueish purple :

Quis purpura sæpe

Cæbalis et Tyrii moderator livet aheni. *Syl. i. 2. 150.*

The best, or the Pelagia, were so called, because found in deeper waters.—See the *Schol. to Apollonius Rhodius*, l. i. v. 461.

them to Sardis or Ephesus, disposed of them at a prodigious price. Amongst the Barbarians, eunuchs<sup>95</sup> are esteemed of greater value than other slaves, from the presumption of their superior fidelity. Hermotimus was one of the great many whom Panionius had thus treated. Hermotimus however could not be esteemed as altogether unfortunate: he was sent from Sardis to the king as one amongst other presents, and in process of time became the favourite of Xerxes above all the other eunuchs.

CVI. When the king left Sardis to proceed towards Athens, this Hermotimus went on some busi-

Εν θαθει της θαλασσης ευρισκεται. From this peculiarity of the purpura, the verb πορφυρεσκω was used for to meditate *profoundly*. —T.

<sup>95</sup> *Eunuchs.*]—Eunuchs were introduced in the courts of princes and the families of great men at a very early period, and of course became an important article of commerce. Black eunuchs appear to have been preferred, at least we find one in the court of Zedekiah.—See Jeremiah, xxxviii. 7.

“ Now when Ebed-Melech, the Æthiopian, one of the eunuchs which was in the king’s house, heard that they had put Jeremiah in the dungeon, &c.”

Black eunuchs are still an article of great luxury in the east, and seldom found but in the seraglio of the Grand Signior, and those of the Sultanas. See Memoirs of Baron Tott, who represents their manners as always harsh and brutal.—See also *Harmer*, vol. iii. 328.

Eunuchs are found in the catalogue of eastern commodities, which, about the time of Alexander Severus, were made subject to the payment of duties; and Mr. Gibbon observes, that the use and value of these effeminate slaves gradually rose with the decline of the empire.—T.

ness to a place in Mysia, called Atarneus, inhabited by some Chians: he there met and remembered Panionius. He addressed him with much seeming kindness; he first enumerated the many benefits he enjoyed through him, and then proceeded to assure him, that if he would come to him with all his family, he should receive the most convincing testimony of his gratitude. Panionius listened to the offer with great delight, and soon went to Hermotimus, with his wife and children. When the crutch had got them in his power, he thus addressed Panionius: "The means by which you  
 " obtain a livelihood is the most infamous that can  
 " be conceived. How could I, or any of my an-  
 " cestors, so have injured you or your family as to  
 " justify your reducing me from manhood to my  
 " present contemptible state? Could you imagine  
 " that your crimes would escape the observation  
 " of the gods, who inspiring me with the fallacy I  
 " practised, have thus delivered you into my  
 " hands? Abandoned as you are, you can have  
 " no reason to complain of the vengeance which I  
 " mean to inflict on you." After these reproaches, he produced the four sons of Panionius, and obliged the father to castrate them himself; when this was done, he compelled the sons to do the same to their father. Such was <sup>96</sup> the punishment of Panionius, and the revenge of Hermotimus.

<sup>96</sup> *Such was.*]—

Qui primus pueris genitalia membra recidit  
 Vulnere quæ fecit debuit ipse pati.

*Ovid. Amor. l. ii. c. 3.*

CVII. Xerxes having sent his children to Ephesus, under the care of Artemisia, commissioned Mardonius to select from the army the number that he wished, and desired him to make his deeds correspond with his words. The above happened during the day; but on the approach of night, the king commanded the leaders of his fleet to retire from Phalerum, towards the Hellespont, with the greatest expedition, to protect the bridge and secure his passage. The Barbarians set sail, but when they approached Zoster, mistaking the little promontories which rise above that coast for ships, they fled a great way. Discovering their error, they afterwards formed, and proceeded in a regular body.

CVIII. In the morning, the Greeks perceiving the land forces of the enemy on their former post, supposed their fleet to be still at Phalerum, and prepared for a second engagement. When informed of their retreat, they commenced a pursuit with the greatest eagerness. Proceeding as far as Andros without being able to discover them, they went on shore on the island to hold a consultation. Themistocles was of opinion that they should sail through the midst of the islands, continuing their pursuit, and endeavour to reach the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge. This was opposed by Eurybiades, who thought that the measure of breaking down the bridge would not fail to involve Greece in the greatest calamity. It was not probable, he urged, that if the Persian was compelled to stay in Europe he would remain inactive; if he did, his  
army

army would be in danger of suffering from famine, unable either to return to Asia, or advance his affairs; but if he should be earnest in the prosecution of any enterprize, he would have great probability of success, as it was much to be feared, that most of the cities and powers of Europe would either be reduced by him, or surrender previously to his arms; besides this, he would have a constant supply of corn from the annual produce of Greece: as therefore it was not likely that the Persian, after his late naval defeat, would wish to stay in Europe, it was better that his escape to his own country should be permitted. Here, he added, it will be afterwards adviseable to prosecute hostilities. In this opinion the other leaders of the Peloponnese acquiesced.

CIX. Themistocles seeing his advice to sail immediately to the Hellespont overruled by the majority, addressed himself next to the Athenians. They were more particularly exasperated by the escape of the enemy, and had determined to continue the pursuit to the Hellespont, even if unsupported by the rest of the allies. He spoke to them as follows: “ I have myself been witness of similar  
 “ incidents, and I have frequently heard it affirmed  
 “ by others, that men reduced to the extreme ebb  
 “ of fortune have by some succeeding efforts re-  
 “ trieved their affairs, and made amends for their  
 “ former want of vigour. We Athenians have  
 “ enjoyed this favourable vicissitude; but although  
 “ we have thus happily defended ourselves and our  
 “ country,



“ country, and have repulsed such an host of foes,  
 “ we refrain from the pursuit of a flying enemy;  
 “ not that we must impute our success to our own  
 “ exertions; we must thank the gods and the  
 “ heroes who would not suffer an individual mark-  
 “ ed by his impiety and crimes to be the tyrant of  
 “ Asia and of Europe; a man who made no dis-  
 “ crimination betwixt things sacred and profane;  
 “ who consumed by fire the shrines of the gods;  
 “ who dared to inflict lashes on the sea, and throw  
 “ chains into its bosom. To us the present moment  
 “ is auspicious, let us therefore attend to the interest  
 “ of ourselves and families; and as the Barbarian  
 “ is effectually expelled, let us severally repair our  
 “ dwellings, and cultivate our lands. In the spring  
 “ we will sail to Ionia and the Hellespont.” By  
 this conduct, Themistocles intended to conciliate the  
 friendship of the Persian, that in case of his be-  
 coming unpopular with his countrymen he might  
 be secure of a place of refuge. The event proved  
 his sagacity <sup>97</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> *The event.*]—It is a singular circumstance which I do not  
 remember ever to have seen remarked by any writer, that one  
 of the motives which made Atossa urge on Darius to hostilities  
 with Greece was, that she might have some Ionian female slaves  
 who were celebrated for their graces and accomplishments.—  
 See Horace:

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos  
 Matura virgo et fingitur artubus  
 Jam nunc, &c.

And the escape of Themistocles to Asia was in the habit of  
 an Ionian female slave, concealed in a litter, by which means  
 he with difficulty eluded the fury of his incensed countrymen.  
 —T.

CX. The Athenians, deluded by Themistocles, assented to his proposal; they had before thought highly of his wisdom, and the present instance of his prudence and discretion induced their readier compliance with his wishes. The Athenians had no sooner agreed in form to what he recommended, than he dispatched a bark with confidential servants to inform the king of their determination, who were not to be prevailed on even by torture to reveal what was entrusted to them: amongst these was the slave Sicinnus.<sup>98</sup> On their arrival at Attica, Sicinnus left his companions in their vessel, and hastened to the king, whom he thus addressed: “ Themistocles, son of Neocles, and leader of the Athenians, of all the confederates the most wise and the most valiant, has sent me to inform you, that willing to render you kindness, he has prevented the Greeks from pursuing you to the Hellespont, when it was their inclination to do so<sup>99</sup>, in order

<sup>98</sup> *Sicinnus.*]—Plutarch says it was one of the king’s eunuchs, found amongst the prisoners, named Arraces. But as Larcher justly remarks, Themistocles was much too wise to send a person of this description, who, if possessed of the smallest sagacity, could have forewarned Xerxes of the artifice of the Athenian commander.—*T.*

<sup>99</sup> *Inclination to do so.*]—Plutarch relates the matter differently: he makes Themistocles inform Xerxes, that the Greeks, after their victory, had resolved to sail to the Hellespont, and break down their bridge; but that Themistocles, zealous to preserve him, urged him to hasten to that sea, and pass over to Asia. In the mean time he raised perplexities and embarrassments amongst the allies, which retarded their pursuit.—*Larcher.*

“ that

“ that they might break down your bridge ; you  
“ may now, therefore, retire there in security.”  
Saying this Sicinnus returned.

CXI. The Greeks having thus declined to pursue the Barbarians, with the view of breaking down the bridge at the Hellespont, laid close siege to Andros, and determined totally to destroy it. These were the first of the islanders who had refused the solicitation of Themistocles for money. He had urged to them, that they were impelled to make this application by two powerful divinities, persuasion and necessity, who could not possibly be refused. The Andrians replied, that Athens might reasonably expect to be great and prosperous from the protection of such powerful deities, but that their island was of itself poor and barren, and had withal unalterably attached to it two formidable deities, poverty and weakness ; that they, therefore, could not be expected to supply them with money : the strength of Athens, they added, could never be greater in proportion than their weakness. In consequence of this refusal and reply they were now besieged.

CXII. In the mean while the avarice of Themistocles appeared to be insatiable. He made applications to all the other islands also for money, using the same emissaries and language as before to the Andrians. In case of refusal, he threatened to bring against them the forces of Greece, and utterly destroy them. He by these means obtained from the Carystians and Parians an enormous sum of money.

ney. These people hearing that the Andrians had been distressed, on account of their attachment to the Medes, and being informed that Themistocles was the first in rank and influence of all the Grecian leaders, were terrified into compliance. Whether any of the other islands gave him money or not, I will not take upon me to decide, but I am inclined to believe that some of them did. The Carystians, however, did not by their compliance escape the menaced calamity, whilst the Carians, by the effect of their bribes on Themistocles, avoided being made the objects of hostilities. In this manner Themistocles, beginning with the Andrians, extorted money from the islanders without the knowledge of the other leaders.

CXIII. The land forces of Xerxes, after continuing on their former station, a few days after the battle of Salamis moved towards Bœotia, following the track by which they had come. Mardonius thought proper to accompany the king, both because the season of the year was improper for any farther military exertions, and because he preferred wintering in Thessaly, intending to advance to the Peloponnese on the commencement of the spring. On their arrival in Thessaly, the first care of Mardonius was to select, in preference to all the Persians, those called the Immortals, excepting only their leader Hydarnes, who refused to leave the person of the king. Of the other Persians he chose the Cuirassiers, and the body of a thousand horse : to these he added all the forces, horse and foot, of the Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians. From  
the

the rest of the allies he selected only those who were distinguished by their advantages of person, or who had performed some remarkable exploit. He took also the greater part of those Persians who wore collars and bracelets \*; and next to these the Medes, inferior to the Persians in force, but not in number. The aggregate of these troops, including the cavalry, was three hundred thousand men.

CXIV. Whilst Mardonius was employed in selecting his army, and Xerxes was still in Thessaly, an oracle was addressed to the Lacedæmonians from Delphi, requiring them to demand compensation of Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and to accept of what he should offer. A messenger was instantly dispatched from Sparta, who came up with the army, the whole of which was still in Thessaly, and being introduced to Xerxes, thus addressed him: “ King of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians and  
“ Heraclidæ of Sparta <sup>100</sup>, claim of you a compensation for the death of their king, whom you slew  
“ whilst he was defending Greece.” The king laughed at this, and for some time returned no answer; till at length, turning to Mardonius, who stood near him, “ This man,” says he, “ shall make  
“ you a becoming retribution.” The herald receiving this answer departed.

<sup>100</sup> *Heraclidæ of Sparta.*]—Herodotus expresses himself thus, to distinguish the kings of Lacedæmon from those of Argos and Macedonia, who also were Heraclidæ, that is to say, of the race of Hercules.—*Larcher.*

\* *Collars and bracelets*]—As marks of royal favour, and rewards for service. See an account of the royal gifts of Persia, in a note on the first book.

CXV. Xerxes, leaving Mardonius in Thessaly, hastened towards the Hellespont. Within the space of forty-five days he arrived at the place of passage with a very inconsiderable number of troops. But wherever these troops came, without any distinction, they consumed all the corn of the inhabitants, and when this failed, they fed upon the natural produce of the earth, stripping wild and cultivated trees alike of their bark and leaves, to such extremity of famine were they come. To this a pestilence succeeded, which with the dysentery destroyed numbers in their march. Xerxes distributed his sick through the cities as he passed, recommending the care and maintenance of them to the inhabitants. Some were left in Thessaly, others at Siris in Pæonia, others in Macedonia. At this last place, on his march to Greece, Xerxes had left the sacred chariot of Jupiter, which he did not find on his return. The Pæonians had given it to the Thracians; but when Xerxes enquired for it again, they told him that the mares, whilst feeding, had been driven away by the people of the higher Thrace, who lived near the source of the Strymon.

CXVI. Here the king of Bisaltica and Crestonia, a Thracian, did a most unnatural action. Refusing to submit to Xerxes, he had retired to the higher parts of mount Rhodope, and had commanded his sons not to serve against Greece. They, either despising their father, or curious to see the war, had joined the Persian army. There were six of them, and they all returned safe, but their father ordered

their eyes to be put out; such was the reward they received.

CXVII. The Persians, leaving Thrace, came to the passage, where they eagerly crowded into their vessels to cross to Abydos. The bridge of vessels was no more, a tempest had broken and dispersed it. Here meeting with provisions in greater abundance than they had enjoyed during their march, they indulged themselves so intemperately, that this, added to the change of water, destroyed a great number of those who remained; the rest with Xerxes arrived at Sardis<sup>101</sup>.

CXVIII. There is also another story.—It is said that Xerxes, leaving Athens, came to a city called Eion, on the banks of the Strymon. Hence he proceeded no farther by land, but entrusting the conduct of his forces to Hydarnes, with orders to march them to the Hellespont, he went on board a Phœnician vessel to cross over into Asia. After he had embarked, a heavy and tempestuous wind set in from the lake, which on account of the great num-

<sup>101</sup> Mr. Richardson, who rejects altogether the Grecian account of Xerxes, and his invasion of Greece, finally expresses himself in these strong terms.

“To sum up all; the expedition of Xerxes, upon the most moderate scale of the Greek writers, seems to be inconsistent with probability and the ordinary power of man.—It is all upon stilts; every step we take is upon romantic ground: nothing seems wanting but a few genii, to make it in every respect an exceeding good Arabian tale.”—*Dissertations*, 8vo. 316.

ber of Persians on board, attendant upon Xerxes, made the situation of the vessel extremely dangerous. The king, in an emotion of terror, enquired aloud of the pilot if he thought they were safe? "By no means," was the answer, "unless we could be rid of some of this multitude." Upon this Xerxes exclaimed, "Persians, let me now see which of you has an affection for his prince; my safety it seems depends on you." As soon as he had spoken, they first bowed themselves before him, and then leaped into the sea <sup>102</sup>. The vessel being thus lightened, Xerxes was safely landed in Asia. As soon as he got on shore, he rewarded the pilot with a golden crown for preserving the life of the king; but as he had caused so many Persians to perish, he cut off his head.

CXIX. This last account of the retreat of Xerxes seems to deserve but little credit for many reasons, but particularly from this catastrophe of the Persians who accompanied the king. If Xerxes really made such a speech to the pilot, I cannot hesitate a moment to suppose, that the king would have

<sup>102</sup> *Leaped into the sea.*]—An anecdote not very unlike this, and particularly characteristic of the spirit of British sailors, is related of James the Second, when duke of York. He was, by some accident, in imminent danger of being lost at sea, but getting into the ship's boat, with a select number of attendants, he, though with extreme difficulty got safe to shore. The honest crew, when they saw his highness landed on the beach, gave him three cheers, and in a few minutes all went down, and perished.—T.



ordered his attendants, who were not only Persians, but men of the highest rank, to descend into the hold of the ship, and would have thrown into the sea as many Phœnician rowers as there were Persians on board. But the truth is, that the King, with the residue of his army, returned towards Asia by land.

CXX. Of this there is a yet stronger proof. It is well known that Xerxes, on his return to Asia, came to Abdera, with the inhabitants of which he made a treaty of friendship, presenting them with a golden scimitar, and a tiara richly embroidered. The Abderites assert what does not to me appear probable, that with them, Xerxes, for the first time after his departure from Athens, pulled off his robes, as being not till then released from alarm. Abdera is much nearer the Hellespont than Strymon and Eion, where it is said he went on board.

CXXI. The Greeks not succeeding in their attempts upon Andros, attacked Carystus, and after wasting its lands returned to Salamis. Here their first care was to set apart as sacred to the gods the first fruits of their success, amongst which were three Phœnician triremes. One of these was deposited upon the isthmus, where it continued with- in my memory; a second was placed at Sunium; the third was consecrated to Ajax, and reserved at Salamis. They then proceeded to a division of the plunder, sending the choicest to Delphi. Here a  
statue

statue was erected twelve cubits high, having in its hand the beak of a ship<sup>103</sup>: it was placed on the same spot where stands a statue in gold of Alexander of Macedon.

CXXII. After these offerings had been presented at Delphi, it was enquired publickly of the deity, in the name of all the Greeks, whether what he had received was perfect and satisfactory to him. He replied, that from the Greeks in general it was, but not from the Æginetæ, from whom he claimed a farther mark of their gratitude, as they had principally been distinguished at the battle of Salamis. The people of Ægina, on hearing this, consecrated to the divinity three golden stars, which were fixed upon a brazen mast, in the angle near the cistern of Cræsus.

CXXIII. After the division of the plunder, the Greeks failed to the isthmus, to confer the reward of valour upon him who should be judged to have been most distinguished during the war. On their arrival here, the Grecian leaders severally inscribed their opinions, which they deposited upon the altar of Neptune. They were to declare whom they thought the first, and whom the second in merit: each individual inscribed his own name, as claiming

<sup>103</sup> *Beak of a ship.*]—The first naval triumph at Rome was commemorated in a similar manner. A pyramid, or rather trophy, was erected in the forum, composed of the beaks of ships taken from the enemy.—T.

the first reward; but a great majority of them united in declaring Themistocles deserving the second. Whilst each, therefore, had only his own suffrage for the first, Themistocles had the second place awarded him, by a great majority.

CXXIV. Whilst the Greeks severally returned to their homes, avoiding from envy to decide the question for which they had purposely assembled, Themistocles was not only esteemed, but celebrated through Greece as the first in sagacity and wisdom. Not having been honoured by those with whom he conquered at Salamis, he retired for this purpose to Lacedæmon: here he was splendidly entertained<sup>104</sup>, and honourably distinguished. The prize of personal prowess was assigned to Eurybiades; but that of wisdom and skill to Themistocles, and each was presented with an olive crown. To the latter they also gave the handsomest chariot in Sparta; they heaped praises upon him, and when he returned, three hundred chosen Spartans, of those who are called the knights<sup>105</sup>, were appointed to attend him

as

<sup>104</sup> *Splendidly entertained.*]—This was the more remarkable, and must have been a proof of the extraordinary regard in which the character of Themistocles was held, as it was contrary to the genius of the Spartans, and the inveterate prejudices of that people. While at Athens there were sometimes known to be ten thousand foreigners of different nations, all of whom were treated with hospitality and attention, strangers were discouraged from visiting Sparta, and if ever they ventured there, were considered as spies.—T.

<sup>105</sup> *The knights.*]—The Greek word is ἵππεις; it nevertheless

less

as far as Tegea. I know no other example of the Spartans conducting any person from their city.

CXXV. On his return from Lacedæmon to Athens, Timodemus of Aphidna, a man chiefly remarkable for his implacable enmity against Themistocles, imputed to him his visit to Sparta as a public crime. The honours, he said, which he had received at Lacedæmon, were not bestowed out of respect to him, but to Athens. Whilst he was continuing his invectives, "Friend," says Themistocles, "the matter is thus; if I had been a Belbinite<sup>106</sup>, I should not have been thus distinguished at Sparta, nor would you, although an Athenian."

CXXVI. At this juncture, Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, who had always had great reputation amongst his countrymen, and particularly from his conduct at Platea, accompanied the king with a detachment of sixty thousand men of the army which Mardonius had selected. When Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, and was arrived in Asia,

less may fairly be doubted, whether they served on horseback, or whether it was not a term of honour only. It is certain the country of Lacedæmon was ill adapted for cavalry; that Xenophon calls the few they had. *πονοροτατοι*; and that none but those who were wealthy possessed horses. See Larcher's elaborate note at this word.—T.

<sup>106</sup> *Belbinite.*]—In the beginning of the chapter, Herodotus tells us that this man was of Aphidnæ.—Wesseling thinks, that he might nevertheless be a Belbinite, though, when made a citizen of Athens, he was enrolled in the tribe of Aphidnæ.—T.

Artabazus returned, and encamped near Pallene: Mardonius had taken up his winter quarters in Theffaly and Macedonia, and as he did not wish to have his camp enlarged by this additional number, Artabazus thought it expedient to take the opportunity now before him of chastising the rebellious Potidæans. When the king was gone, and the Persian fleet had fled from Salamis, this people openly revolted from the Barbarians; they of Pallene had done the same.

CXXVII. Artabazus therefore laid siege to Potidæa: distrusting the fidelity of the Olynthians, he attacked them also. Their city was at this time possessed by the Bottiæans, whom the Macedonians had driven from the gulph of Therma. Artabazus having taken their city, put the inhabitants to death in a neighbouring marsh. The government of the place he gave to Critobulus of Torone: the Chalcidians thus became masters of Olynthus.

CXXVIII. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus applied with greater ardour to the siege of Potidæa. He contrived to induce Timoxenus, the chief of the Scionæans, to betray the town into his hands: in what manner their correspondence commenced I am not able to say, I can only speak of the event. Whenever they wanted to communicate with each other, a letter was fixed to an arrow, and made to serve as wings, which was then shot to a place agreed upon. But the betrayer of Potidæa was ultimately detected: Artabazus directed an arrow  
to

to the concerted place, but it deviated from its direction, and wounded a Potidæan in the shoulder. A crowd, as is usual on such occasions, surrounded the wounded man, who seeing the letter connected with the arrow, carried it immediately to the magistrates, with whom their Pallenian allies were present. The letter was read, and the traitor discovered: it was not, however, thought proper to inflict the deserved punishment on Timoxenus, out of regard to his country, and that the Scionæans might not in future be stigmatized as traitors: but it was in this manner that the treachery of Timoxenus became known.

CXXIX. Artabazus had been now three months before Potidæa, when there happened a great overflowing of the sea, which continued for a considerable time. The Barbarians seeing the ground become a swamp, retired to Pallene: they had already performed two-fifths of their march, and had three more before them, when the sea burst beyond its usual limits with so vast an inundation, that the inhabitants, who had often witnessed similar incidents, represent this as without parallel. They who could not swim were drowned; they who could, were killed by the Potidæans from their boats. This inundation, and the consequent destruction of the Persians, the Potidæans thus explain.—The Barbarians, they say, had impiously profaned the temple and shrine of Neptune, situate in their suburbs, who may therefore be considered as the author of their calamity, which

which to me appears probable. With the few who escaped, Artabazus joined the army of Mardonius in Thessaly, and this was the fate of those who conducted Xerxes to the Hellespont.

CXXX. The remainder of the fleet of Xerxes, which flying from Salamis, arrived in Asia, after passing over the king and his forces from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyma. In the commencement of the spring it assembled at Samos, where some other vessels had continued during the winter. This armament was principally manned by Persians and Medes, and was under the conduct of Mardontes, the son of Bagæus, and Artayntes, son of Artachæus, whose uncle Amitres had been joined to him as his colleague. As the alarm of their former defeat was not yet subsided, they did not attempt to advance farther westward, nor indeed did any one impel them to do so. Their vessels, with those of the Ionians, amounted to three hundred, and they stationed themselves at Samos, to secure the fidelity of Ionia. They did not think it probable that the Greeks would penetrate into Ionia, but would be satisfied with defending their country. They were confirmed in this opinion, as the Greeks, after the battle of Salamis, never attempted to pursue them, but were content to retire also themselves. With respect to their affairs at sea, the Persians were sufficiently depressed, but they expected that Mardonius would do great things by land. Remaining on their station at  
Samos,

James, they consulted how they might annoy the enemy, and they anxiously attended to the progress and affairs of Mardonius.

CXXXI. The approach of the spring, and the appearance of Mardonius in Theffaly, roused the Greeks. Their land army was not yet got together, but their fleet, consisting of a hundred and ten ships, was already at Ægina, under the command of Leutychides. He was descended in a right line from Menares, Agefilaus, Hippocratidas, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidamus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicander, Charilus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanes, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and lastly from Hercules. He was of the second royal family, and all his ancestors, except the two named after Leutychides, had been kings of Sparta. The Athenians were commanded by Xanthippus, son of Ariphron.

CXXXII. When the fleet of the Greeks had arrived at Ægina, the same individuals who had before been at Sparta to entreat the assistance of that people to deliver Ionia, arrived amongst the Greeks. Herodotus, the son of Basilides, was with them; they were in all seven, and had together concerted the death of Strattes, tyrant of Chios. Their plot having been discovered by one of the accomplices, the other six had withdrawn themselves to Sparta, and now came to Ægina to persuade the Greeks to enter Ionia: they were induced,



duced, though not without difficulty, to advance as far as Delos. All beyond this the Greeks viewed as full of danger, as well because they were ignorant of the country, as because they supposed the enemy's forces were in all these parts strong and numerous: Samos they considered as not less remote than the pillars of Hercules.\* Thus the Barbarians were kept by their apprehensions from advancing beyond Samos, and the Greeks, notwithstanding the sollicitations of the Chians, would not move farther eastward than Delos. Their mutual alarm thus kept the two parties at an equal distance from each other.

CXXXIII. Whilst the Greeks thus moved to Delos, Mardonius, who had wintered in Thessaly, began to break up his quarters. His first step was to send an European, whose name was Mys, to the different oracles, ordering him to use his endeavours, and consult them all. What it was that he wished to learn from them I am unable to say, for I have never heard; I should, however, suppose, that he only intended to consult them on his present affairs.

CXXXIV. It is certain that this man went to Lebadia, and by means of a native of the country, whom he bribed to his purpose, descended to the cave of Trophonius; he went also to the oracle of Abas in Phocis; he then proceeded to Thebes, where, with the same ceremonies as are practised in Olympia, he consulted the Iſmenian Apollo; after-  
wards

wards he obtained permission by his gold, of some stranger, but not of a Theban, to sleep in the temple of Amphiaraus. No Theban is here permitted to consult the oracle; for when Amphiaraus had formerly submitted to their choice, whether they would have him for their diviner, or their ally, they preferred having him as the latter. On this account no Theban is allowed to sleep in his temple.

CXXXV. According to the account given me by the Thebans, a remarkable prodigy at this time happened. Mys the European having visited all the oracles, came to the temple of Apollo Ptoos. This, though so called, belongs to the Thebans; it is beyond the lake of Copais, at the declivity of a mountain near Acræphia<sup>107</sup>. When this Mys arrived here, he was attended by three persons of the place, appointed for the express purpose of writing down the answer of the oracle. The priests immediately made reply to him in a barbarous language<sup>108</sup>, which filled those who were present, and who expected the answer to be given in Greek, with astonishment. Whilst his attendants remained in great perplexity, Mys snatched the tablets from their hands, and wrote down the reply of the priests, which, as afterwards appeared, was in the Carian tongue: having done this he returned to Theffaly.

<sup>107</sup> *Acræphia.*]—From this place Apollo had the name of Acræphius.—*T.*

<sup>108</sup> *Barbarous language.*]—See chapter 18.

CXXXVI. As soon as the oracular declarations had been conveyed to Mardonius, he sent Alexander the Macedonian, son of Amyntas, ambassador to Athens. His choice of him was directed from his being connected with the Persians by ties of consanguinity. Bubares, a Persian, had married Gygæa, sister of Alexander, and daughter of Amyntas : by her he had a son, who after his grandfather, by the mother's side, was called also Amyntas, to whom the king had presented Alabanda, a city of Phrygia. Mardonius was farther influenced in employing Alexander, from his being a man of a munificent and hospitable spirit. For these reasons he deemed him the most likely to conciliate the Athenians, who were represented to him as a valiant and numerous people, and who he understood had principally contributed to the defeats which the Persians had sustained by sea. He reasonably presumed, that if he could prevail on them to unite their forces with his own, he might easily become master of the sea. His superiority by land was in his opinion superior to all resistance, and as the oracles had probably advised him to make an alliance with the Athenians, he hoped by these means effectually to subdue the Greeks.

CXXXVII. Attending to this, he sent to Athens Alexander, descended in the seventh degree from Perdiccas, whose manner of obtaining the throne of Macedonia I shall here relate :—Three brothers, Gavanes, Æropus, and Perdiccas, sons of Temenus, fled on some occasion from Argos to Illyrium,  
from

from whence retiring to the higher parts of Macedonia, they came to Lebæa. Here they engaged in the service of the king, in different menial employments: one had the care of his horses, another of the cattle, the third and youngest, of the sheep. In remoter times, the families even of kings had but little money <sup>109</sup>, and it was the business of the queen

<sup>109</sup> *Little money.*]—In the time of the Trojan war, the use of money was not known amongst the Greeks. Homer and Hesiod do not speak of gold and silver money; they express the value of things by saying, they are worth so many oxen or sheep. They estimated the riches of a man by the number of his flocks, and that of a country by the abundance of its pastures, and the quantity of its metals. See the *Iliad*, vii. 466.—Pope's version:

Each in exchange proportioned treasures gave.  
Some brass or iron, some an ox or slave.

Lucan attributes the invention of money (l. 6. v. 402.) to Itonus, king of Thessaly, and son of Deucalion; others to Ericthonius king of Athens, who, as they say, was the son of Vulcan, and had been brought up by the daughters of Cecrops. Aglaosthenes (in Julius Pollux) gives the honour of this invention to the inhabitants of the island of Naxos. The more received opinion is, that Phidon, king of Argos, and cotemporary with Lycurgus and Iphitas, first introduced the use of money in Ægina, to enable the people of Ægina to obtain a subsistence by commerce, as their island was so barren.

Neither gold nor silver were permitted at Lacedæmon. According to Athenæus, they gave the widow of king Polydonus, who reigned about 130 years before Lycurgus, a certain number of oxen to purchase a house. When Lyfander plundered Athens, the Lacedæmonians began to have gold and silver, but only for public necessities, the use of it amongst individuals being forbidden on penalty of death.

Herodotus,

queen herself to cook for her husband <sup>110</sup>. When the bread prepared by the younger domestic, Perdiccas, was baked, she always observed that it became twice as big as before; this she at length communicated to her husband. The king immediately considered the incident as a prodigy, and as foreboding some extraordinary event. He therefore sent for the brothers, and commanded them to leave his territories. They told him, it was but reasonable that they should first receive what was due to them. Upon this the king answered, as if heaven-struck, "I give you this sun (the light of which then came through the chimney)" as proper wages for "you." Gavanes and Æropus, the two elder

Herodotus, l. i. c. 94, says, that the Lydians were the first who coined gold and silver money, and used it in commerce.

The treasures of Cræsus contained gold and silver only in the mass. See Herodotus, b. vi. c. 125.

It does not appear that the Persians had money before the time of Darius, son of Hytaspes. See Herod. l. vi. 166.—l. ix. 40.

None of the ancient money of the Lydians, Persians, &c. is now to be seen: the most ancient of those preserved in cabinets are Greek, and of the Greek the oldest are those of Amyntas, grandfather of Alexander the Great.—*Bellanger*.

<sup>110</sup> *Cook for her husband.*]—Ashaik, who has the command of five hundred horse, does not disdain to saddle and bridle his own, nor to give him barley and chopped straw. In his tent his wife makes the coffee, kneads the dough, and superintends the dressing of the victuals: his daughters and kinswomen wash the linen, and go with pitchers on their heads, and veils over their faces, to draw water from fountains. These manners agree precisely with the descriptions in Homer, and the history of Abraham in Genesis.—*Volney*.

brothers,

brothers, on hearing this, were much astonished, but the younger one exclaimed, "We accept, O king, what you offer us:" Then taking the sword, for he had one with him, he made a circular mark with it upon that part of the ground on which the sun shone, and having three several times received the light upon his bosom, departed with his brothers.

CXXXVIII. One of the king's porters informed him of what the young man had done, and of his probable design in accepting what was offered. The king was much incensed, and immediately dispatched some horsemen to kill them. In this country is a river, near which the posterity of those men who were originally from Argos offer sacrifices as to their preserver. This, as soon as the Temenidæ had got to the opposite bank, swelled to so great a degree that the horsemen were unable to pass it. The Temenidæ arriving at another district of Macedonia, fixed their residence near the gardens, said to belong to Midas the son of Gordius. In these a species of rose grows naturally, having sixty leaves, and more than ordinary fragrance: here also, as the Macedonians relate, Silenus<sup>111</sup> was taken. Beyond this place is a mountain,

<sup>111</sup> *Silenus.*]—Most authors affirm that he was a satyr, and confound the Sileni with the satyrs. Marfyas is called by some writers, and a satyr by others. There was no difference betwixt them; the Sileni were the elder kind. *Larcher.*

called Bermion, which during the winter is inaccessible. The Temenidæ first settled here, and afterwards subdued the rest of Macedonia.

CXXXIX. From the above Perdiccas, Alexander was thus descended: He was the son of Amyntas, Amyntas was the son of Alcetas, Alcetas of Æropus, Æropus of Philip, Philip of Argæus, Argæus of Perdiccas, who obtained the kingdom.

CXL. When Alexander arrived at Athens, as deputed by Mardonius, he delivered the following speech: "Men of Athens, Mardonius informs you  
" by me, that he has received a commission from  
" the king of the following import: 'Whatever  
" injuries the Athenians may have done me, I  
" willingly forgive: return them therefore their  
" country; let them add to it from any other they  
" may prefer, and let them enjoy their own laws. If  
" they will consent to enter into an alliance with me,  
" you have my orders to rebuild all their temples,  
" which I have burned.'—It will be my business  
" to do all this unless you prevent me: I will now

We learn from the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, l. iv. 460. that there was a people of Arabia called Selenitæ. It has been said that this name was taken by the Arcadians, to confront the vain boast of the Athenians; see book vii. I think that the name Sileni was assumed by the Arcadians before they began to dispute antiquity with the Athenians. A principal part of their possessions in Asia was called Salonum, and the cheese there made Caseus Salonites, words not unlike Silenus and Selenitæ. The name is preserved in Silenus, the usual companion of Pan.—T.

" give

“ give you my own sentiments :—What infatuation  
 “ can induce you to continue your hostilities against  
 “ a king to whom you can never be superior, and  
 “ whom you cannot always resist : you already  
 “ know the forces and exploits of Xerxes ; neither  
 “ can you be ignorant of the army under me. If  
 “ you should even repel and conquer us, of which  
 “ if you be wise you can indulge no hope, ano-  
 “ ther army not inferior in strength will soon suc-  
 “ ceed ours. Do not, therefore, by endeavouring  
 “ to render yourselves equal to so great a king,  
 “ risk not only the loss of your native country, but  
 “ the security of your persons : accept, therefore,  
 “ of our friendship, and avail yourselves of the pre-  
 “ sent honourable opportunity of averting the in-  
 “ dignation of Xerxes.—Be free, and let us mutu-  
 “ ally enter into a solemn alliance, without fraud  
 “ or treachery. Hitherto, O Athenians, I have  
 “ used the sentiments and language of Mardonius ;  
 “ for my own part it cannot be necessary to repeat  
 “ what partiality I bear you, since you have ex-  
 “ perience proofs of it before. Accept, therefore,  
 “ the terms which Mardonius offers you ; you can-  
 “ not always continue your opposition to Xerxes ;  
 “ if I thought you could, you would not now have  
 “ seen me. The power of the king is prodigious<sup>113</sup>,  
 “ and extensive beyond that of any human being.

<sup>113</sup> *Prodigious*.]—As the word *μῆς* is used in Greek, so is *manus* in Latin.

Au necis longas regibus esse manus.

*Larcher.*



“ If you shall refuse to accede to the advantageous  
 “ proposals which are made you, I cannot but be  
 “ greatly alarmed for your safety, who are so much  
 “ more exposed to danger than the rest of the con-  
 “ federates, and who, possessing the region betwixt  
 “ the two armies, must be involved in certain ruin.  
 “ Let, then, my offers prevail with you as their  
 “ importance merit, for to you alone of all the  
 “ Greeks, the king forgives the injuries he has  
 “ sustained, wishing to become your friend.”

CXLI. The Lacedæmonians having heard that  
 this prince was gone to Athens to invite the Athe-  
 nians to an alliance with the Persian, were exceed-  
 ingly alarmed. They could not forget the oracle  
 which foretold, that they, with the rest of the Dori-  
 ans, should be driven from the Peloponnese by a  
 junction of the Medes with the Athenians, to whom  
 therefore they lost no time in sending ambassadors.  
 These were present at the Athenian council, for the  
 Athenians had endeavoured to gain time, well know-  
 ing that the Lacedæmonians would learn that an  
 ambassador was come to invite them to a confede-  
 racy with the Persians, and would consequently send  
 deputies to be present on the occasion; they there-  
 fore deferred the meeting, that the Lacedæmonians  
 might be present at the declaration of their senti-  
 ments.

CXLII. When Alexander had finished speaking,  
 the Spartan envoys made this immediate reply :  
 “ We have been deputed by the Spartans, to en-  
 “ treat

“ treat you not to engage in any thing which may  
 “ operate to the injury of our common country,  
 “ nor listen to any propositions of Xerxes; such a  
 “ conduct would not be equitable in itself, and  
 “ would be particularly base in you for various  
 “ reasons: you were the first promoters of this  
 “ war, in opposition to our opinions; it was first  
 “ of all commenced in vindication of your liberties,  
 “ though all Greece was afterwards drawn into  
 “ the contest. It will be most of all intolerable,  
 “ that the Athenians should become the instruments  
 “ of enslaving Greece, who, from times the  
 “ most remote, have restored their liberties to many.  
 “ Your present condition does not fail to excite in  
 “ us sentiments of the sincerest pity, who, for two  
 “ successive seasons, have been deprived of the pro-  
 “ duce of your lands, and have so long seen your  
 “ mansions in ruin. From reflecting on your  
 “ situation, we Spartans, in conjunction with your  
 “ other allies, undertake to maintain, as long as the  
 “ war shall continue, not only your wives, but  
 “ such other parts of your families as are incapable  
 “ of military service. Let not, therefore, this Ma-  
 “ cedonian Alexander, softening the sentiments of  
 “ Mardonius, seduce you: the part he acts is con-  
 “ sistent; a tyrant himself, he espouses the inte-  
 “ rests of a tyrant. If you are wise you will always  
 “ remember, that the Barbarians are always false  
 “ and faithless.”

CXLIII. After the above address of the Spartans, the Athenians made this reply to Alexander:

“ It

“ It was not at all necessary for you to inform us,  
 “ that the power of the Persians was superior to  
 “ our own: nevertheless, in defence of our liber-  
 “ ties, we will continue our resistance to the utmost  
 “ of our abilities. You may be assured that your  
 “ endeavours to persuade us into an alliance with  
 “ the Barbarians never will succeed: tell, there-  
 “ fore, Mardonius, on the part of the Athenians,  
 “ that as long as the sun shall continue its ordinary  
 “ course, so long will we avoid any friendship with  
 “ Xerxes, so long will we continue to resist him.  
 “ Tell him, we shall always look with confidence  
 “ to the protecting assistance of those gods and  
 “ heroes whose shrines and temples he has con-  
 “ temptuously destroyed. Hereafter do not you  
 “ presume to enter an Athenian assembly with  
 “ overtures of this kind, least whilst you appear to  
 “ mean us well, you prompt us to do what is  
 “ abominable<sup>113</sup>. We are unwilling that you  
 “ should receive any injury from us, having been  
 “ our guest and our friend.”

CXLIV. The above was the answer given to  
 Alexander; after which the Athenians thus spoke to  
 the Lacedæmonians: “ That the Spartans should

<sup>113</sup> *What is abominable.*]—“ Our ancestors so loved their  
 country,” says Lycurgus, “ that they were very near stoning  
 Alexander, the ambassador of Xerxes, and formerly their  
 friend, because he required of them earth and water.”

It was the circumstance of their being united to him by the  
 ties of hospitality, which induced the Athenians to spare his  
 life. See my note on the ancient rites of hospitality.—T.

“ fear our entering into an alliance with the Bar-  
“ barians seems natural enough; but in doing  
“ this, as you have had sufficient testimonies of  
“ Athenian firmness, you certainly did us injury.  
“ There is not upon earth a quantity of gold, nor  
“ any country so rich or so beautiful, as to seduce  
“ us to take part with the Medes, or to act inju-  
“ riously to the liberties of Greece. If of ourselves  
“ we were so inclined, there still exist many im-  
“ portant circumstances to deter us: in the first  
“ place, and what is of all motives the most  
“ powerful, the shrines and temples of our deities,  
“ consumed by fire, and levelled with the ground,  
“ prompt us to the prosecution of a just revenge,  
“ and manifestly compel us to reject every idea of  
“ forming an alliance with him who perpetrated  
“ these impieties. In the next place, our common  
“ consanguinity, our using the same language, our  
“ worship of the same divinities, and our practice  
“ of the same religious ceremonies, render it im-  
“ possible that the Athenians should prove perfidi-  
“ ous. If you knew it not before, be satisfied now,  
“ that as long as one Athenian shall survive, we  
“ will not be friends with Xerxes; in the mean  
“ time, your interest in our fortunes, your concern  
“ for the ruin of our mansions, and your offers to  
“ provide for the maintenance of our families, de-  
“ mand our gratitude, and may be considered as  
“ the perfection of generosity. We will, how-  
“ ever, bear our misfortunes as we may be  
“ able, and not be troublesome to you; be it your  
“ care

" care to bring your forces into the field as expedi-  
 " tiously as possible ; it is not probable that the  
 " Barbarian will long defer his invasion of our  
 " country, he will be upon us as soon as he shall  
 " be informed that we have rejected his proposals ;  
 " before he shall be able to penetrate into Attica,  
 " it becomes us to advance to the assistance of  
 " Boeotia."

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

